AFTER THE BATTLE

MUNICH: DER NEUNTE ELFTE
FIRST SHOTS IN THE WEST
MALTA UPDATE

Number 66

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CONTENTS

50 YEARS AGO
First Shots in the West 1

IT HAPPENED HERE
Der Neunte Elfte 4

WRECK RECOVERY
Malta Update 28

FROM THE EDITOR 33

Front Cover: Malta's Grand Harbour at Valletta disgorges the main armament from HMS *Jersey* mined on May 2, 1941 (AFM).

Centre Pages left: 'Mahnmal an der Feldherrnhalle in München'. The memorial on the side wall of the Field-Marshal's Hall in Munich on the spot where 14 members of Hitler's Nazi Party were killed on November 9, 1923 — 'der Neunte Elfte' (ninth of the eleventh). Passers-by had to salute the monument, but, those that chose not to, would avoid the Residenzstrasse by detouring along the narrow Viscardigasse, earning it the nickname 'Shirkers' Lane'.

Centre Pages right: Today only the base on which the bronze monument stood remains to be seen. (Karel Margry)

Back Cover: Gun barrels used as fenceposts in the Kalamaki area of Crete taken by *After the Battle* reader Edward McManus in May 1989.

Acknowlegements: The Editor would like to express his appreciation to Andrew Mollo of the Historical Research Unit for his advice and the provision of photographs for *Der Neunte Elfte*.

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For over a thousand years the rich coal deposits of the Saar (Sarre in French) have made this area on the border of Germany and France a source of both wealth and political contention. Over the centuries, control of the state has switched many times but, with the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the Saar was ceded to Prussia. After the First World War the coal mines were given to France and the Saarland placed under the auspices of the League of Nations for 15 years. In January 1935 (hence the 'Am 13 Januar' slogan in the picture), a plebiscite was held in which 90 percent of the population voted for the return to German control. Following the referendum — a massive 'yes' vote of 477,000 to 48,000 — Hitler stressed that 'we thereby renounce all claims to Alsace-Lorraine, a land for which we have fought two great wars.' On March 1 German forces formally occupied the Saar to a tumultuous welcome, a parade being held in the capital Saarbrücken that afternoon reviewed by Hitler. Significantly, therefore, it was the Saar that saw the first incursion of French troops on German soil in September 1939. These pictures were taken in the first village captured — Lauterbach — a couple of kilometres across the frontier in the sector of the Warndt salient. (SIRPA/ECPA, France)

There is only one way for the Germans to conduct the war and their current behaviour in front of us is only aimed at gaining time to crush Poland. The time has come to hit hard and answer with guns and machine guns all attempts at fraternisation. Any of the enemy who show up will be killed or captured . . . Everybody must be convinced that the present war will know neither weakness nor pity.

GÉNÉRAL EDOUARD RÉQUIN
GENERAL ORDER No. 1, SEPTEMBER 7, 1939

FIRST SHOTS IN THE WEST

By Jean Paul Pallud

To declare war was one thing but to fire the first shot was another and the early days on the Western Front were uneventful. The French knew full well that the Germans desperately needed to keep things quiet in the West and were not taken in by German efforts to avoid any provocation.

Orders to prepare for an attack in the Sarre (Saar) and the Palatinate to relieve the pressure on Poland if she were invaded, had already been issued by the French High Command to the commander of Groupe d'Armées No. 2, Général Gaston Prételat, in May 1939. On September 3, conscious of the swift advances being made by the Wehrmacht in Poland, the French High Command urged him to launch the planned operation.

Although units of the 3ème Armée had clashed with German forces in the Warndt, a wooded area to the south-west of Saarbrücken, on September 4 when strong patrols advanced into this part of Germany, it was not until September 6 that Général Prételat had the forces assembled to enable him to issue the general order to begin the offensive. The French attacks got under way but the operation remained measured and methodical. On September 9, six days after the outbreak of war, eight divisions, two of them motorised, five battalions of tanks and numerous artillery units were assigned to the operation.

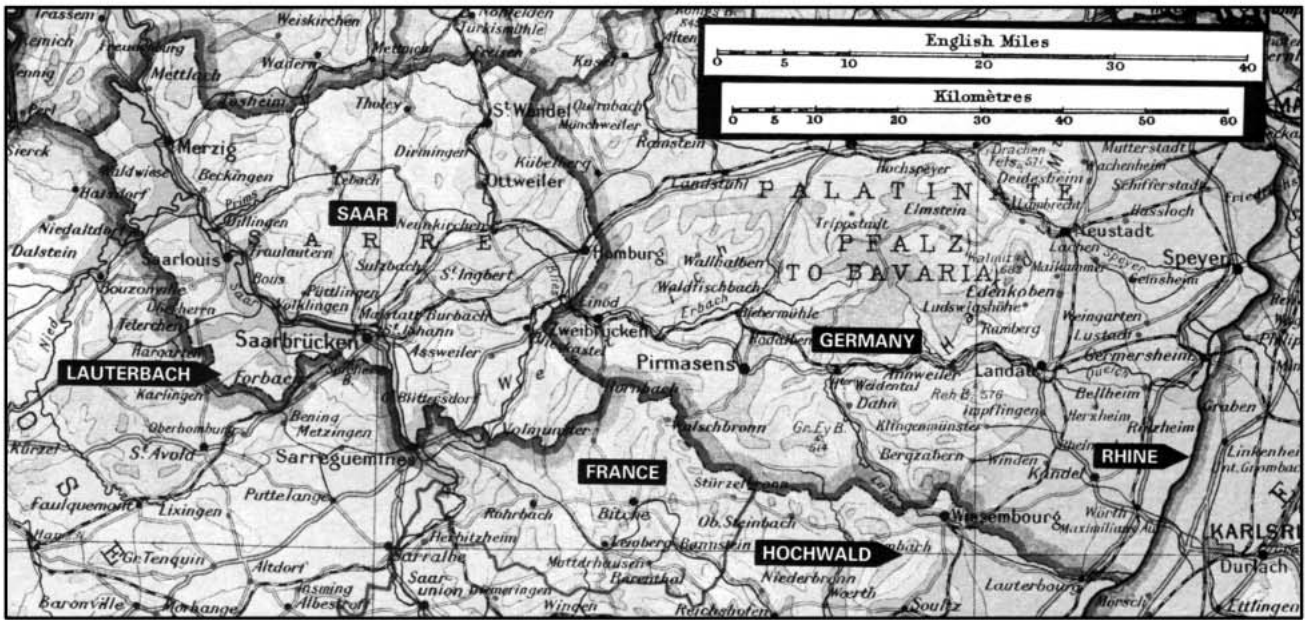
Further to the east, at the juncture of the Vosges mountains and the Alsace plain, was the Haguenau Fortified Sector of the Maginot Line which had two fortresses on the final outcrop of high ground: the huge Hochwald fortress with its 11 'battle' blocks, 3 entrance blocks and 9 casemates — and the Schoenenbourg *(see After the Battle No. 60)* a few kilometres to the east — the last fortress before the Alsace plain.

In fact the capture of Lauterbach had been easy, for the Germans had freely evacuated the village! The French troops shown chatting in front of the Gasthaus Josef Siegwart are men of the 151ème R.I. of the 42ème Division d'Infanterie. Jean Paul Pallud returned in 1987 to find the building still standing, but no longer an inn, yet a fine comparison for inclusion in his next book, *Blitzkrieg in the West — Then and Now* to be published by *After the Battle* in 1990. (SIRPA/ECPA, France)

This infantryman is inspecting the colourful enamel plate of the Colonial Office in Lauterbach — perhaps with the intention of removing it for a souvenir. (SIRPA/ECPA, France)

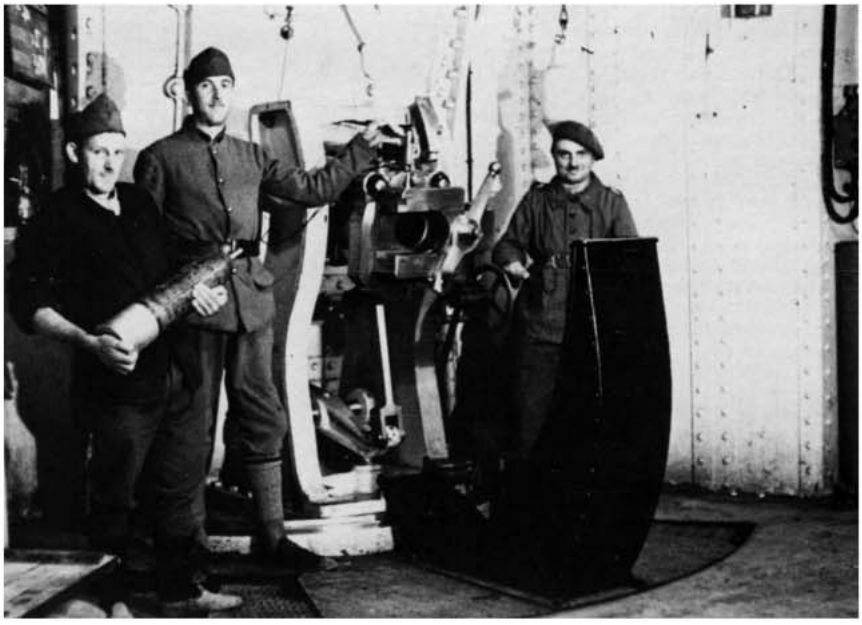
The offensive in the Sarre gave the troops in the Maginot Line their first opportunity to open fire in anger, and the honour of firing off the first shells fell to the Haguenau sector when the 75mm turret of Block 7b at Hochwald opened up in support of a diversionary infantry attack in the Schweigen sector during the night of September 8.

On September 9, a French communiqué triumphantly announced that the greater part of the Warndt salient was in French hands and referred to the success of the offensive. While French and British newspapers told of great victories as the offensive moved deeper into Germany, the 'limited' and 'methodical' operations that had been started were, in fact, already beginning to peter out. On September 14, with Poland rapidly being overwhelmed, orders were issued to take up defensive positions on the ground already won on Germany's western border. The gains, such as they were, consisted of about 200 square kilometres and some 50 German villages.

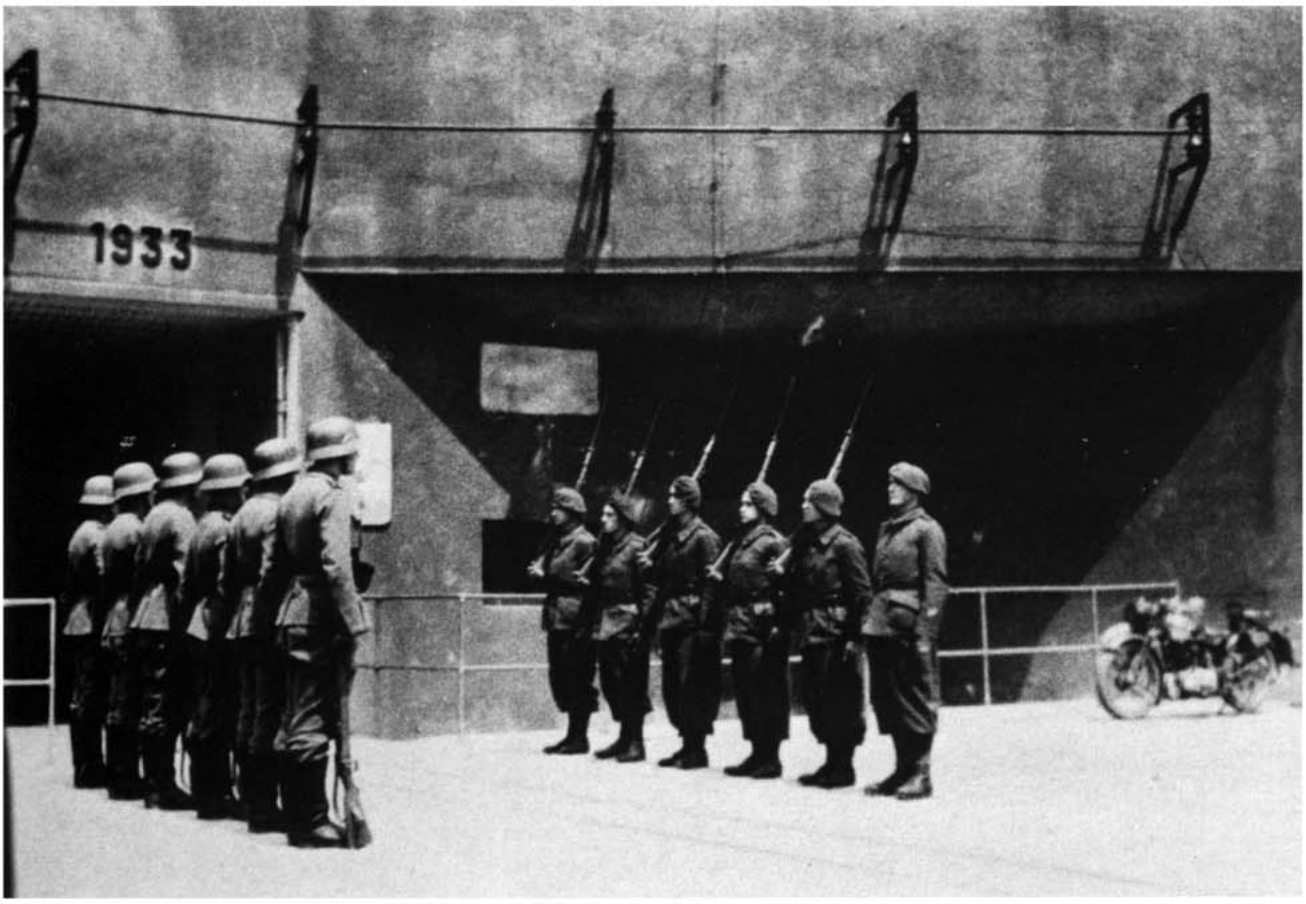


In 1945 French troops again occupied the Saar and two years later it adopted a constitution calling for independence from both France and Germany. In 1954, France and the new Federal Republic of Germany agreed the arrangement for autonomy under a European commissioner, but 68 percent of the voters in the subsequent referendum rejected the deal. As a result, France agreed to return the Saar to West Germany where it became the tenth 'Land' of the Federal Republic on June 7, 1959.

During the last two weeks of September Germany and the Soviet Union were carving up Poland between them and soon it was possible for the bulk of German units to be transferred to the West. On September 30, the French North-East Front commander, Général Alphonse Georges, arrived at Prételat's headquarters to tell him and his army



It was the huge Maginot Line fortress at Hochwald, 75 kilometres further east, which had the honour of firing the first shell on the Western Front. Although we cannot claim that this picture shows that very first round — for that was a 75mm fired by Block 7bis — it is a nice symbolic photo of the period. It actually shows the crew of the 135mm mortar in Block 13, and was taken by Sous-Lieutenant Albert Haas, the commander of Block 16. He took numerous pictures of fortresses in his sector and managed to hide them when the Line surrendered in 1940 and retain them till the end of the war.



commanders what they already knew: that to remain in enemy territory, in front of the Maginot Line, without an offensive plan in mind, no longer served any useful purpose. Consequently Georges informed them that the time had come for a general withdrawal to the frontier defences.

Photographer unknown, but a remarkable picture nevertheless. Two Honour Guards — one French, the other German — facing each other at the entrance to Hochwald (Block 8) waiting for their officers to emerge after the formal hand-over of the keys to the fortress on July 1, 1940. (ALMA)

Thus ended the Sarre 'offensive', a well-meaning yet ill-fated operation which had brought little relief to Poland in her hour of trial.

DER NEUNTE ELFTE

Red letter day in the Nazi calendar was 'Der Neunte Elfte' — the ninth of the eleventh: the day on which the Munich putsch took place in 1923. Hitler's premature attempt to seize power in Bavaria went drastically wrong and ended in the death of sixteen members of the National Socialist Party but it became legendary in Nazi folklore and was remembered each anniversary, even throughout the war, by a memorial march of the 'old guard' along the precise route which had been taken on the morning of November 9, 1923.

Two months earlier an opportunity had presented itself for the NSDAP, the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, to assert its growing influence on the German political scene, and show off its increasing membership. The demonstrations held in Nuremberg on 'German Day' — September 1, the anniversary of the decisive defeat of France in the Battle of Sedan in 1870 — brought forth more than 100,000 nationalists of whom a sizeable proportion were NSDAP members. The Deutsche Kampfbund (German Combat League) was formed with revolutionary intent and within weeks rumours of an attempt to seize power in Bavaria were rife.

By October inflation in Germany had reached crisis proportions with an exchange rate of five million marks for one pre-war mark and increasing by the day; so fast in fact that the printing presses could not turn out new notes quickly enough and had to

The birth of Nazism. On February 24, 1920, the first mass meeting of the German Workers' Party was held in the Hofbräuhaus in Munich. Previous attempts to entice an audience to party meetings had met with never more than a couple of hundred people turning up, but this time, with leaflets and posters distributed all over Munich, nearly 2,000 people jammed the Festsaal. *Top:* **Twenty-five years later a white flag of surrender hangs from a balcony of the bomb-blasted building.** *Above:* **Save for the missing memorial tablet on the end wall, little has changed over the last forty years.**

Five weeks later the party adopted a new name: the National Socialist German Workers' Party, abbreviated in German to NSDAP. More important, the two additional words gave rise to the shortened form by which the new body would be known throughout the world: the 'Nazi' Party. *Left:* **This plaque in the Hofbräuhaus recorded that historic first meeting.** *Right:* **The Festsaal still survives although the plaque has disappeared. Perhaps it was lifted by a 'Thunderbird'.**

The meeting was to be opened at 7.30. At 7.15 I entered the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus on the Platzl in Munich, and my heart nearly burst for joy. The gigantic hall — for at that time it still seemed to me gigantic — was overcrowded with people, shoulder to shoulder, a mass numbering almost two thousand people. And above all — those people to whom we wanted to appeal had come. Far more than half the hall seemed to be occupied by Communists and Independents. They had resolved that our first demonstration would come to a speedy end.

But it turned out differently. After the first speaker had finished, I took the floor. A few minutes later there was a hail of shouts, there were violent clashes in the hall, a handful of the most faithful war comrades and other supporters battled with the disturbers, and only little by little were able to restore order. I was able to go on speaking. After half an hour the applause slowly began to drown out the screaming and shouting. I now took up the programme and began to explain it for the first time.

From minute to minute the interruptions were increasingly drowned out by shouts of applause. And when I finally submitted the twenty-five theses, point for point, to the masses and asked them personally to pronounce judgement on them, one after another was accepted with steadily mounting joy, unanimously and again unanimously, and when the last thesis had found its way to the heart of the masses, there stood before me a hall full of people united by a new conviction, a new faith, a new will.

A fire was kindled from whose flame one day the sword must come which would regain freedom for the Germanic Siegfried and life for the German nation.

And side by side with the coming resurrection, I sensed that the goddess of inexorable vengeance for the perjured deed on November 9, 1919, was striding forth.

Thus slowly the hall emptied.

The movement took its course.

ADOLF HITLER, *MEIN KAMPF*

The spoils of victory in Munich were shared by the US 42nd Division (the 'Rainbowmen') and the 45th who we see here have taken over the Hofbräuhaus for the command post of the 157th Infantry Regiment of the 45th Division. It was rather appropriate as it was due to the rise of the Nazi Party that the division had been forced to drop from their shoulder patch what had formerly been a respectable symbol of their Indian heritage, the Swastika. They had replaced it with the Red Indians' 'sacred bearer of unlimited happiness' — the thunderbird, by which name the division became known.

From the cradle to the grave. For the Nazi Party, Munich was its Valhalla . . . the place where it was born and had its roots. Although one hesitates to use phrases like 'crying in the wilderness', this is precisely the thought conjured up when looking at this picture of Hitler spreading his own brand of gospel. It has been often used to portray the early days, but without any accurate date. *ATB* reader, Elmar Widmann, a one-time local resident, advised us that it was taken on the Mars-Platz. The large building on the right is the Infantry School which was damaged by incendiary bombs in the war.

resort to overprinting those in stock: a 1,000 mark note becoming a million, a 500 million a 20 billion and so on. In such a climate Hitler felt assured that an opportunity existed to challenge the discredited Weimar Republic with the widespread support of those who had lost everything in the crash. He chose November 11 — the fifth anniversary of Germany's defeat in the recent war which also fell on a Sunday that year when offices would be closed and, hopefully, the police forces and military less prepared for

Here we see almost exactly the same view showing the Party's first four standards paraded on the first NSDAP 'Parteitag' held on January 27-29, 1923.

trouble. In the event the plan was brought forward when it was learned that all the top members of the Bavarian Government would be present at a meeting to be held on the preceding Thursday (November 8) at a local beer hall, the Bürgerbräukeller. It was hoped that when presented with a show of force, the three key members of the Bavarian Government, General Otto von Lossow, Gustav Ritter von Kahr and Colonel Hans Ritter von Seisser, might join the Nazis in the coup d'état; if they didn't they would be arrested.

It is reported that Hitler had raging toothache on Thursday but there was no time to have it seen to although the biting wind could not have improved his temper. That evening, having arranged for an NSDAP meeting to be held in the Löwenbräukeller to distract attention, Hitler and his close entourage accompanied by armed stormtroopers took over at the Bürgerbräukeller, Hitler and Göring firing the only shots of the evening into the roof of the hall to try to quell the uproar. Although the Bavarian triumvirate was escorted to a side room as

A new telecommunications building on the right replaces the old Infantry School building which was formerly the Officers' Training School of the Royal Bavarian Army.

Munich was also special because it was the place chosen by the Nazis to mount their first attempt to usurp the State. Although the word 'putsch' in German can be translated as 'revolution', in 1923 the NSDAP was hardly in a position to take Germany by storm. As Hitler told Mr G. Ward Price in 1935, 'I was following Mussolini's example too closely. I had meant the Munich Putsch to be the beginning of a "March on Berlin" which should carry us straight to power. From its failure I learnt the lesson that each country must evolve its own type and methods of national regeneration.'

Hitler took the platform, it was not until the World War I idol, General Erich Ludendorff, arrived to add the weight of his personality — and rank — to the argument that they agreed to join Hitler.

After his speech, Hitler left the hall to rousing cheers, placing Ludendorff in charge. The General, accepting the word of a fellow German officer, allowed the three Bavarian Cabinet Ministers to leave to return to their offices. There they immediately countermanded Hitler's orders and began to organise opposition. It was a fatal blunder which was to have even more fatal consequences.

According to Ludendorff, when word arrived that Ernst Röhm and his 150 stormtroopers, who had taken over the War Ministry, were surrounded, he proposed that the Bürgerbräukeller party march on the city to try to save a situation which was going from bad to worse. Hitler later claimed that 'We went to the city to win the people to our side, to see how public opinion would react, and then to see how Kahr, Lossow and Seisser would react to public opinion. After all, those gentlemen would hardly be foolish enough to use machine guns against a general uprising of the people. That's how the march into the city was decided upon.'

The Putsch was to begin here — at the Bürgerbräukeller on Rosenheimerstrasse. *Top:* **Oberleutnant Gerhard Rossbach (centre), who had persuaded the cadets of the Infantry School to throw in their lot with Hitler, is pictured outside the beer hall.** *Right:* **In 1945 yet another Thunderbird CP.**

No photographs exist of the march that Friday morning but when Hitler achieved power in 1933, a memorial march was held each year on November 9 — 'der Neunte Elfte'. Our pictures are of the 1938 parade, Karel Margry following the precise route at the right time on the right day 49 years later. *Above:* **Here the old guard assembles in the street outside the beer cellar. Then Rosenheimerstrasse was much narrower with tram tracks down the centre . . .**

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1923

With General Ludendorff at the head of the column, both he and Hitler were confident that neither the army or police would fire on them. Around 11.30 that morning, dull and overcast with flurries of snow, the stormtroopers began to form up outside on the Rosenheimerstrasse. In the lead were eight flag bearers and behind them the leaders: Hitler with the General on his left and Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter on his right. Alongside were Colonel Hermann Kriebel, a professional soldier who formed up the parade with military precision, Hitler's personal bodyguard Ulrich Graf, Göring as the commander of the SA, Friedrich Weber, Alfred Rosenberg and other Nazi officials. Behind came three units marching abreast in ranks of four with Hitler's own hundred-man bodyguard or Stosstrupp on the left; the Munich SA in the centre and the Bund Oberland, a nationalistic paramilitary organisation, on the right — in all some 2,000 men.

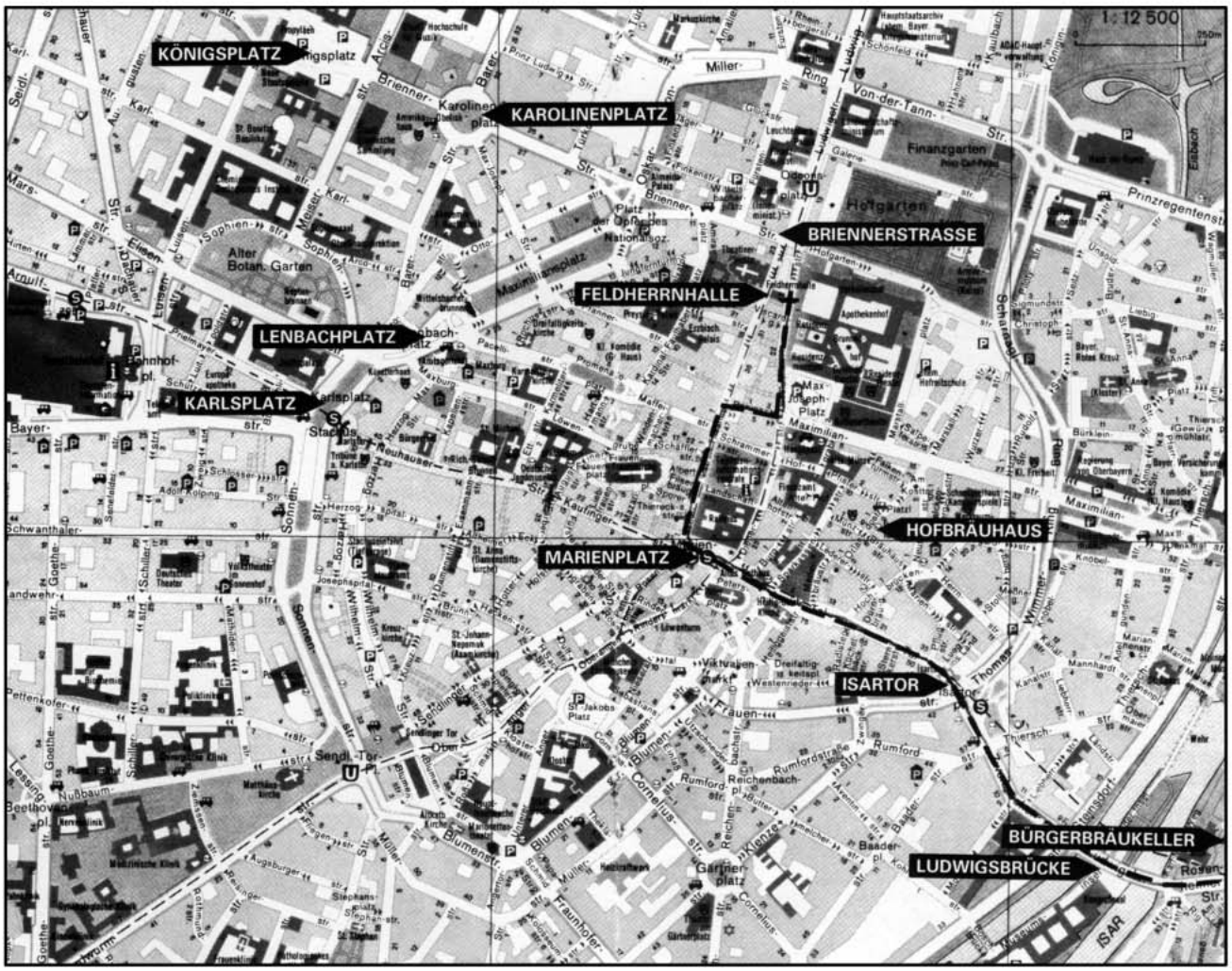
. . . but now it is a wide dual carriageway with none of the original buildings remaining.

Hermann Göring was wounded in the subsequent fracas, as was Hitler's bodyguard, Ulrich Graf, standing behind Hitler.

All who participated in the Putsch were awarded the 'Blood Order', instituted in March 1934, worn on the right breast.

Hitler recalled the events of November 1923 on many occasions: 'The "Putsch" was the fanatical decision of the young Party to build up a new Germany. That was assuredly in the eyes of many an almost insane decision. Certainly at that time there was not a 51 percent probability of success on our side, but there was a 99 percent probability in favour of our opponents. When in 1923 for the first time we determined to act we had already behind us a long history of preparations for a "Putsch". I can confess quite calmly that from 1919 to 1923 I thought of nothing else than a *coup d'état*. . . . At that time our opponents intended to raise a revolution about the 12th of November, and a Bavarian revolution at that, and to carry it through under the watchword, "The Burning out of the Bolshevist North and the temporary separation of Bavaria". As soon as I heard this, I knew that the hour of Germany's destiny was approaching. Then I formed the resolution to strike four days before our opponents and so to seize for our side the initiative.' *Left:* The historic Bürgerbraükeller stood right up until 1979 when it was demolished to make way for the Munich City Hilton Hotel *(see also After the Battle Nos. 11 and 31).*

A few minutes before noon the column moved off behind a Swastika flag. There was no music to encourage the marchers as the band had deserted earlier that morning. The first obstacle on the route to the city centre was the Ludwig Bridge spanning the Isar and here a small force of police barred the way. The police commander called on the men to halt or be fired on but Göring retaliated by saying that if a single shot was fired, he would shoot hostages being held at the rear of the column. Threatening the police with loaded weapons, the marchers forced their way across the bridge to enter Zweibrückenstrasse to the cheers of a gathering



The march from the beer hall to the city centre was a distance of about two kilometres. According to published accounts, the marchers had no fixed route in mind when they set out from the Bürgerbräukeller, most of them expecting to march to the Marienplatz — the central market square — and then perhaps continue straight on to the Karlsplatz.

In 1923 the Nazis had formed up behind a Swastika flag which ended up splashed with the blood of those killed when the police opened fire. This flag thereupon became the revered 'holy grail' of the Party, and the Blutfahne (Blood Banner) was preserved at the Brown House (the Nazi Party headquarters) and paraded on every annual re-enactment by the official flagbearer, Jakob Grimminger. He had been on the original march and was later accorded the rank of SS-Standartenführer. Here he leads the marchers down towards the Ludwigsbrücke. (Grimminger died in obscurity in Munich in 1969.)

When Karel followed the same route, at no time did it appear that anyone but he realised the historical meaning of being in Munich on November 9. However, he soon discovered that every German above 55 still knows instantly what is meant when you mention 'der Neunte Elfte' and he was told that during the war the people of Munich became very uneasy as every November 9 approached because, with all the Nazi top brass gathered there, they feared an Allied bombing raid on the town. This, of course, did happen in 1940 and so incensed Hitler that he ordered the raid on Coventry as a reprisal. *Above:* **Crossing the Ludwig Bridge with the Volksbad (public baths) in the background. All along the route, temporary memorial pillars, topped with flaming urns, remembered all those Party members who had lost their lives for the cause. Behind Grimminger we see here the commemoration for two Nazis killed in Düsseldorf in 1933: Heinrich Stollenwerk on May 28 and Paul Ulrich on June 4.**

Left: **Passing through the eastern and** *(centre)* **western arches of Isartor (the Isar Gate). The front-rankers were all those of the old guard who had marched with Hitler on November 9, 1923 and, one assumes, more or less in the positions they had been in then. Graf on his left was seriously wounded when he threw himself in front of Hitler, taking the bullet meant for him. The tall chap on the right is Hermann Kriebel, then-commander of the Working Union of Patriotic Combat Leagues, a nationalist group which supported Hitler in 1923. He was sent to prison with Hitler in April 1924 and died in 1941. Behind is Alfred Rosenberg, editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Party's newspaper, who was executed at Nuremberg in 1946.** *Right:* **Today the road circles around the gate tower.**

crowd. Swastika flags appeared and the support given by the people encouraged the marchers to break into song, their breath forming a mist in the cold air.

On past the ancient gate at the end of the street, the Isartor, along the Talstrasse to the Altes Rathaus where Julius Streicher was addressing a large crowd in the market square, still decorated with Nazi bunting from recent rallies.

The pictures we are using come from the Heinrich Hoffmann archive (via the US Seized Enemy Records Collection). Not all were taken by Hoffmann personally, although he put his name to the best ones — not like the next frame *(left)*, **a fuzzy shot showing the group after emerging from the second tower, now proceeding along Talstrasse. The time is now 12.30.**

Ahead lay the Marienplatz where, in 1923, Julius Streicher was haranguing the crowd *(right)*. **However at this point there is an enigma which none of the published sources satisfactorily explain. If their intended aim was the Karlsplatz, then the marchers should have proceeded straight ahead, difficult though it may have been to force a way through. However, they made a sudden turn to the right, towards the Ludwigstrasse where Himmler and Röhm were bottled up in the War Ministry, but not via the logical, direct route down the first turning on the right (the Dienerstrasse), but along the Weinstrasse on the opposite side of the square. Because of a police road-block ahead, they then doubled back via the Perusastrasse to the Residenzstrasse. Most authors explain the odd route as a spur of the moment decision by Ludendorff.**

Left: **The building behind Streicher was the new town hall (Neues Rathaus).** *Right:* **The comparison was taken in 1945 and is from the same angle but further back, revealing the roadway through the bomb-blasted Altes (old) Rathaus.**

Streicher fell into line just behind Hitler as Ludendorff impulsively led the way into the Weinstrasse, heading for the War Ministry where Röhm was bottled up. With a road-block up ahead, the marchers turned right down Perusastrasse which led them into the Residenzstrasse — equally fatal, as the police were also blocking its northern end where it emerged into the Odeonsplatz. With tall buildings lining the street on both sides and a hundred-strong armed police cordon sealing the end, it was reminiscent of western outlaws riding into an ambush in a box canyon. With only enough room for eight men abreast, Graf stepped forward and shouted to a police Leutnant, Michael Freiherr von Godin: 'Don't shoot! His Excellency Ludendorff is coming!' Godin used his rifle to parry the bayonets held towards him whereupon a shot was fired, killing a sergeant behind him. There was a split second of silence before the police opened fire. The first volley brought down von Scheubner-Richter shot in the lungs.

Julius Streicher was co-founder of the anti-Jewish Deutsch-Sozialistische Partei after the First World War and joined Hitler in 1922, bringing all his followers with him. He marched alongside Hitler in November 1923 and, later, when justifying Streicher's appointment as the Gauleiter of Franconia, Hitler said: 'Perhaps there are one or two who don't like the shape of Comrade Streicher's nose. But when he lay beside me that day on the pavement by the Feldherrnhalle, I vowed to myself never to forsake him so long as he did not forsake me.' Hitler always gave him pride of place at the head of the parade yet, in the end, Streicher paid the ultimate price on the gallows at Nuremberg — ironically part of the area under his jurisdiction as Gauleiter!

Gunfight at the Field-Marshal's Hall. Hoffmann (or his cameraman) did not cover the next part of the route, the frame *(above left)* being taken from a first floor window of the Residenz complex facing the Feldherrnhalle. This is where the Residenzstrasse was blocked by armed police — we are looking over their shoulders, so to speak. Firing broke out, leaving fourteen Nazis and three or four police lying in the street. At this point the anniversary parade always halted to allow wreaths to be laid at the special memorial which was unveiled on the tenth anniversary of the Putsch on November 9, 1933.

Today, although the stonework has been worked on to remove any traces of the fixing brackets for the plaque or wreath-holders, the tell-tale base to the bronze memorial, topped by the eagle, still remains.

The failure of his first attempt at seizing power led Hitler to insist on a policy of strict legality in future. Speaking in 1936 he revealed that 'from the failure of the Putsch we drew a great lesson for the future. We recognised that it is not enough to overthrow the old State, but that the new State must previously have been built up and be practically ready to one's hand. And so only a few days after the collapse I formed a new decision: that now without any haste the conditions must be created which would exclude the possibilty of a second failure. Later you lived through another revolution — the revolution which took place here in Munich on 9 March 1933 and a day earlier elsewhere in the Reich. But what a difference between the two revolutions! In 1933 it was no longer a question of overthrowing the State by an act of violence: meanwhile the new State had been built up and all that there remained to do was to destroy the last remants of the old State — and that took but a few hours.' *Left:* The first parade after achieving office in 1933. *Right:* The Feldherrnhalle (Field-Marshals' Hall) was the perfect setting to remember those who had died beside him a decade before as it already commemorated the deeds of the Bavarian Army and two of its illustrious generals. (Bundesarchiv)

As he fell he grabbed Hitler so violently that he dislocated his arm. Graf leapt in front of Hitler to protect him and in doing so fell gravely wounded. Göring fell wounded with a bullet in his thigh but Ludendorff marched on courageously through the police line.

All told, 14 of the marchers had been shot: Felix Allfarth, Andreas Bauriedl, Wilhelm Ehrlich, Anton Hechenberger, Oskar Körner, Karl Kuhn, Karl Laforce, Kurt Neubauer, Klaus von Pape, Theodor van der Pfordten, Hans Rickmers, Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter, Lorenz Ritter von Stransky, and Wilhelm Wolf. Theodor Casella and Martin Faust were killed at the War Ministry bringing the death toll of Nazis to 16. (Karl Kuhn is now said to have been merely an innocent bystander.)

Hitler escaped only to be arrested, tried and imprisoned at Landsberg *(see After the Battle No. 9)* and the National Socialist Party dissolved. To all intents and purposes, Nazism was dead and buried for ever.

Nevertheless, within ten short years, Hitler had achieved his aim — master of Germany — by which time the Putsch had become one of the legends of the Nazi Party, adding to the symbolism and pageantry with which Hitler dressed up his message.

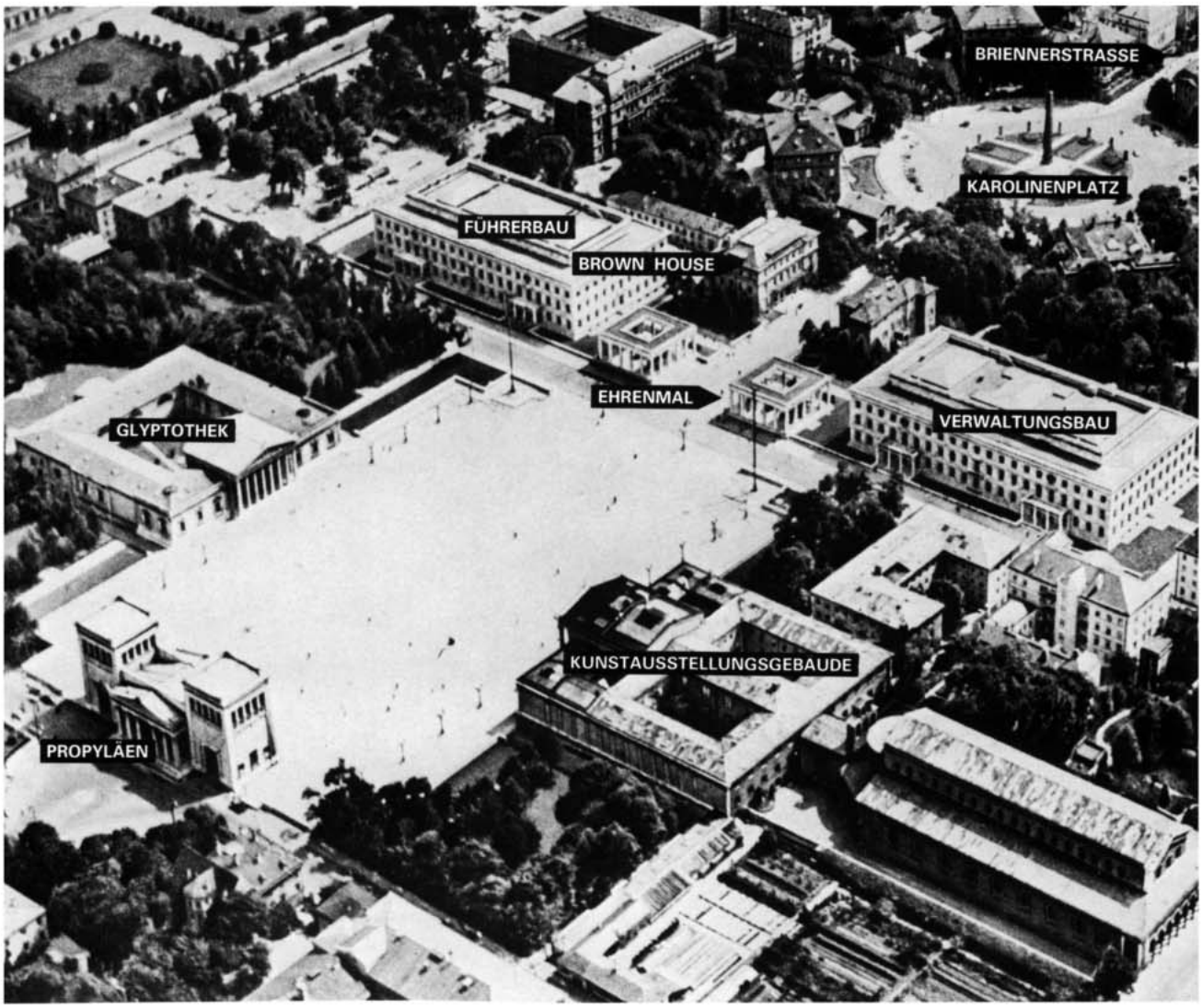
On November 9, 1933, at an impressive ceremony on the Odeonsplatz, Hitler unveiled a memorial plaque which had been added to the wall of the Feldherrnhalle. 'Ten years have passed,' proclaimed Hitler, 'and for me today my greatest happiness lies in the fact that the hope of those days is fulfilled and that we now stand side by side — the representatives of our army and the representatives of our people, that we have become one and that this unity in Germany will never break in pieces. . . . Could our dead of the 9th of November rise again they would weep for joy that now the German Army and the awakened German people have found their way to unity. . . . Because today we are binding into one the whole strength of the nation we can now give to the dead their eternal rest.'

The Feldherrnhalle facing the Odeonsplatz was also the venue for the Totenehrung ceremony in honour of the dead held after the parade on the evening of the 9th. Within the open front of the memorial stood 16 flame-topped pillars — one for every Nazi killed in the Putsch, but remember that on *this* particular evening — November 9, 1938 — the Kristallnacht was unfolding across Germany, even in Munich where one synagogue near the Maximilianstrasse went up in flames.

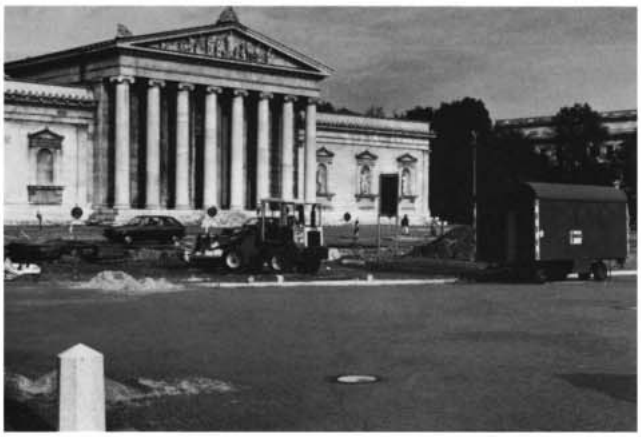
Above: **Meanwhile the 1938 march continues but with a difference. Hitler is now joined in the front rank by representatives of the armed forces for the second part of the parade. L-R Raeder (Navy), Brauchitsch (Army), Keitel (Chief of OKW), Milch (Air Force). In the background we see the open-fronted Feldherrnhalle with the memorial flames for the special sixteen, (not that they were the first Nazi martyrs as the official Ehrenliste of the NSDAP records five earlier deaths that year: Karl Winter, February 26; Daniel Sauer, May 1; Albert Schlageter, May 26; Ludwig Knickmann, June 21, and Erich Kunze on September 24.)** *Right:* **By 1945 the Feldherrnhalle was in a sorry state, the Nazi memorial attracting just cursory glances from passing enemy soldiers. (The painted inscription reads: 'Dachau, Velden, Buchenwald concentration camps — I am ashamed to be a German.')**

Looking rather out of place in the jackbooted ranks of marching men following the leaders was Schwester Pia — perhaps the only woman in the parade. Her real name was Elenore Baur and she was a fervent follower of Hitler and had marched with him during the Putsch. A trained nurse, she had tended the wounded that day and later became the first SA (Brown Shirt) sister. She served throughout the war as a nurse and was interned for five years afterwards by the Allies as a Nazi sympathiser. However, she never renounced her beliefs in Nazism, right up to her death in 1981 aged 95. Here the column is crossing the Odeonsplatz and wheeling left down the Briennerstrasse.

After leaving the Feldherrnhalle, the route was not a recreation of any events in 1923 but a continuation of the ceremonial part of the remembrance parade to its spectacular finale on the Königsplatz. *Left:* Here the column has reached a point two-thirds of the way down the Briennerstrasse and is just approaching the Karolinenplatz. *Right:* Today the junction in the background, through which the parade has just passed, is appropriately named the Platz der Opfer des National-Sozialismus (Square of the Victims of Nazism) — as Karel says, a comparison too good to miss.



In the 18th century, under the enlightened rule of the Kings of Bavaria, Munich was enriched with monuments and buildings in the Classical style. As soon as he came to power, Hitler immediately embarked on his own impressive plans for the embellishment of the Königsplatz *(above)* to make it the symbolic heart of the movement. The Party had already acquired the Barlow Palast, between the square and the Karolinenplatz, in 1928 for a national headquarters for the NSDAP and it was renamed 'Das Braune Haus' in 1931. Hitler's chosen architect, Professor Paul Troost, remodelled the Brown House as befitted the new regime, and then immediately set about erecting two open-topped temples alongside to hold the exhumed remains of the 16 martyrs. These two temples — the Ehrenmal — each containing eight bronze sarcophagi, were later flanked by two new Nazi administrative buildings. The Führerbau, where the Munich agreement was signed ***(see After the Battle No. 62)*** lay on the north-east corner of the Königsplatz with a matching building, the Verwaltungsbau, to the south-east. Having transformed the eastern side into the mecca of Nazism, the whole square was paved to become a massive parade ground, offset by the Glyptothek, Propyläen and Kunstausstellungsgebäude of the Lugwig I era.



Left: **Hitler marches onto the square, passing the Glyptothek and the 'Deutschland Erwache' standards of the Sturmabteilung (SA), the 'stormtroopers' of the NSDAP.** *Right:* **With an incredible sense of timing, Karel's visit 49 years later came just in time to record the removal of Hitler's granite slabs in an operation to restore the square to its 19th Century appearance.**

The Propyläen (the Ionian-style monument on the western side) was converted into the saluting base.

Then, leading the Blood Flag, Hitler walked alone across the square towards the Führerbau for the laying of wreaths. As Adolf Wagner, Gauleiter of Munich, read out the 16 names, calling the dead 'zum letzten Appel' and the masses answered each call with a shouted 'Hier', the named wreaths were brought forward to the temple entrances on Briennerstrasse.

Hitler asked the architect that he most admired, Professor Paul Troost, to design two temples to the honour of the 16 who had now been elevated to the level of sacred martyrs and, although Troost died before the shrine had been completed, the professor's young wife, Gerdy, continued the work. An impressive setting was chosen on the eastern side of the Königsplatz, flanking the Briennerstrasse, near to the headquarters of the Nazi Party, the Braunes Haus.

By 1935 the two open-sided memorial temples — the Ehrenmäler — had been completed and the bodies of the 16, having been exhumed from their family graves, were reinterred in bronze sarcophagi, eight to each temple.

In his inaugural speech Hitler declared that for many years he had vowed that if ever he came to power he would take these comrades from the cemeteries where they were buried, would do them honour and show them to the nation. 'That determination I have now fulfilled,' said Hitler. 'They now pass into the German immortality. In their own time they could not yet see the Reich of today: they could only dimly envisage it. Fate has forbidden them to experience this Reich. But though they might neither see nor experience this Reich, we will take care that this Reich shall see them. And therefore we have laid them in no crypt and beneath no dome. No, just as once they marched, their breast open to the air, so now shall they lie in wind and weather, in storm and snow, under God's free heaven, a perpetual reminder for the German nation. For us they are not dead: these temples are no crypts: they are an eternal guard-post. Here they stand for Germany and keep guard over our people. Here they lie as true witnesses to our movement.'

Following the wreath-laying, Hitler moved to the corner of Briennerstrasse facing the Propyläen for the march past.

We could not resist including this contemporary comparison of the hallowed square occupied by the men of the Thunderbird Division. The date is May 17, 1945, and the picture taken by T/4 Clifford O. Bell shows 'troops of the 45th Infantry Division present arms as they receive benediction at military mass held in King's Plaza, Munich, in honour of the division's dead.'

Neither could we resist including this shot of the Hitler gang — the expressions are marvellous. Adolf Wagner is on the extreme right next to Max Amann, the Reichsleiter in charge of the Nazi Press — a man who has been described as 'rough and uncouth'. He looks it! He published *Mein Kampf* but had all his property confiscated after the war and died in poverty in 1957. (Wagner suffered a massive stroke in 1942 which incapacitated him and he died two years later.) *Below left:* **From this slightly different angle we see the Brown House across the road. Wagner still holds the black-edged script from which he has just read out the names. The entrance to the northern Ehrenmal can be seen on the left.** *Below right:* **Today there is little to relate to the scene in 1938.** *Bottom:* **The afternoon ceremonies would then close with Hitler giving his condolences to the next-of-kin of the sixteen martyrs. The Verwaltungsbau can be seen behind — note the movie camera crew on the right.**

Attempts to assassinate heads of state, be they today or in years past, are equally acts of terrorism, but viewpoints tend to change if the object of the attack is a dictator. However, in November 1939 the despicable side of Nazism had yet to show itself in its true colours, and one can therefore understand the indignation which greeted the attempt to kill Hitler. With the Führer's movements for November 8-9 predictable years in advance, and security at the Bürgerbräukeller lax, it was relatively easy for Georg Elser to prepare a hiding place in a pillar in the banqueting hall. Even the time Hitler was to speak was common knowledge — 10.00 p.m. — all tied in to the historical events of 1923. However, in this particular year, Hitler had a premonition of disaster and left the meeting swiftly without lingering to yarn with the old guard. Thirteen minutes later the bomb exploded. (We photographed the rebuilt hall in 1976 before it was demolished — *see After the Battle No. 11.*)

The bomb killed seven supporters and wounded sixty-three including Eva Braun's father. Five days later the dead were given a State funeral in Munich at which Hitler gave the eulogy at a ceremony at the Feldherrnhalle. Here the cortège passes along Ludwigstrasse towards the Nord-Friedhof.

On each anniversary, Hitler would first give a speech to the Old Guard in the Bürgerbräukeller on the evening of November 8 before taking his place in the front row of the marchers the following morning. It was shortly after he had left the evening meeting in November 1939 that a concealed bomb exploded behind the speaker's platform *(see After the Battle No. 11)*, the seven men killed, Michael Wilhelm Kaiser, Emil Kasberger, Franz Lutz, Leonhard Reindl, Eugen Schachta, Michael Schmeidl and Wilhelm Weber, being added to the roll of honour — the Ehrenliste — of those who had lost their lives in the service of the Party.

Then on the morning of the 9th, Hitler, with the Old Guard, the Alte Garde or Alte Kämpfer, would assemble outside the Bürgerbräukeller to march once again along the route to the Feldherrnhalle. Leading the procession was the actual flag which had been carried in 1923 now named the Blutfahne — the Blood Flag — and borne by Jakob Grimminger, the official standard bearer. Normally the flag, bullet-holed and reputedly bloodstained, was kept in the Brown House and paraded on special occasions, its touch being used to symbolically dedicate new standards.

And here is another contemporary comparison. The funeral procession has just passed the Siegestor — the Victory Arch to the Bavarian Army. Here we see it blasted in 1945 with the lions smashed from the top by Allied bombing. When the main railway station was knocked out, the Germans ran a bypass line through the streets, linking up with undamaged track on the outskirts of the city.

While American forces were advancing towards Munich, a variety of unconnected groups of anti-Nazis rose up on April 27 and attempted to take over key buildings and prevent the bridges from being destroyed. SS and other loyal troops tried to crush the uprising and resistance was still going on when the

Americans arrived on April 30. By no means an unfriendly welcome for these Yanks entering Munich from the north-west down Dachauerstrasse. The concentration camp ten miles outside the city had been captured en route by the 42nd and 45th Divisions. ***(See After the Battle No. 27.)***

All along the route to the city centre, memorials were specially erected for the occasion topped with flaming urns, each dedicated to one of those on the Ehrenliste which by 1937 totalled 426 names. After a halt at the Feldherrnhalle for wreath laying, the parade would continue, after making a left turn down the Briennerstrasse to the Königsplatz. Completely remodelled by Troost, apart from the temples it was also the location of the two Nazi Party administrative buildings which flanked the square either side of the two Ehrenmal.

The ceremony held on the huge square was impressive with the massed ranks of uniformed troops and a sea of red, black, white and gold banners. After reviewing the parade from the steps of the Propyläen — a Greek-style archway built in 1862 dominating the western side of the square — Hitler would escort the Blood Flag as it was trooped to each Ehrenmal in turn for huge wreaths to be laid against each sarcophagus. Hitler would then take the salute at the final march past.

With Munich now under American control, prisoners are marched along Schellingstrasse to the indifferent stares of civilians.

And so to the very heart of Nazism, the place which for fifteen years had been the spiritual home of the Party. Reputedly hit in January 1945 during an Allied air raid, this was all that was left of the Brown House at the end of the war.

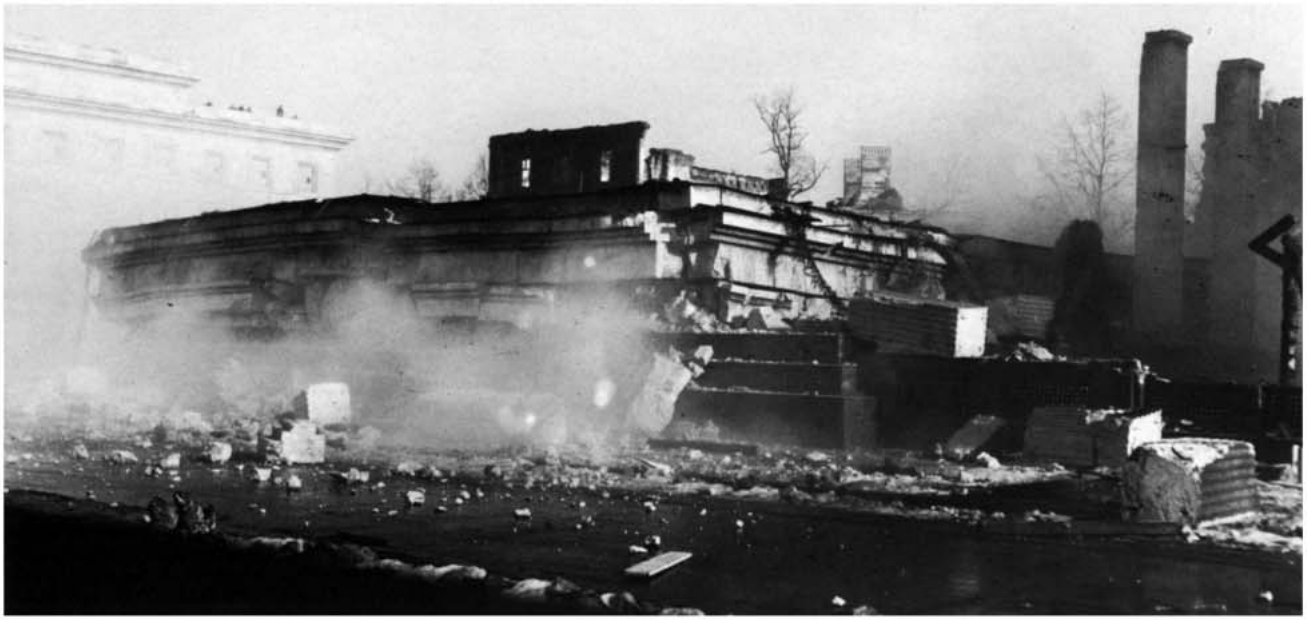
Irving Berlin once wrote: 'The song is ended, but the melody lingers on', somewhat appropriate with the Führerbau still standing.

The tombs in the Ehrenmal were obviously a place of interest for any immediate post-war visitors to Munich although, from the captions given out at the time with these two pictures taken in May 1945, it is obvious that few people really knew what they represented. *Left:* **'Tomb of pioneer Nazi party men who lost their lives in liberation of Hitler from Landsberg prison.'** *Right:* **'Ben McKelway of the *Washington Star* visits shrine built by Hitler for the eight Nazis killed during the attempted assassination of the Führer in the Munich beer hall in 1938.'**

At least the caption writer to the shot *above* **got it right, even if he lapsed into some purple prose: 'Munich has fallen, Hitler's sacred city, scene of the abortive putsch in 1923, the cradle of Nazism, is now watching Europe's evil child being thrown finally into its grave. GIs inspect the tombs in the Ehrenmal — Hitler's Temple of Honour for his followers who fell in the 1923 putsch.' Well done that man! The problem now facing the American Military Government was, what to do with their inheritance. Not wanting to provoke any incident that might have resulted in perpetuating the 16 as martyrs had there been any publicity, within three months of the end of the war the remains had been quietly removed and handed over to the next-of-kin to be reburied in family graves. A newspaper report at the time said that 'brass** *(sic)* **of two of the coffins will be cast as a peace bell, to be hung in the square'. The picture on the** *right* **was published in December 1945: 'Valhalla evacuated. American soldiers surveying the ruined and dismantled Nazi Hall of Fame at Munich. Beyond, the ruins of Hitler's Brown House.'**

On May 13, 1946, the Allied Control Commission for Germany issued a directive ordering the destruction of all military and National Socialist Memorials 'tending to preserve and keep alive the German military tradition, to revive militarism or to commemorate the National Socialist Party or of such a nature as to glorify war'. On January 16, 1947, it was the turn of the two Ehrenmal but fortunately T/5 Ed Martin was on hand to record the end for posterity.

In July 1945, under the direction of the Allied Military Government, the caskets were removed with the minimum of publicity and the remains handed over to the respective families for burial. Then at the end of 1946 it was announced that the two Ehrenmal were to be destroyed. Charges were placed by US Army engineers and on January 16, 1947, the pillars were blown out, dropping the roofs. Subsequently the rubble was cleared and the empty hollows filled with earth in an attempt to bury the most holy shrine of the Third Reich.



The site of the Brown House, almost totally destroyed by bombing, was also cleared and the adjacent Führerbau and Verwaltungsbau de-Nazified to the extent of removing the bronze eagles over the doorways. Today they house the State High School for Music and one of the State Art Collections respectively — an ironic legacy of the time shortly after the war when they were used by American forces as a collecting point for art treasures looted by the Germans from occupied countries before their restitution to their rightful owners.

The memorial plaque was removed from the Feldherrnhalle which reverted to its original rôle as a memorial to Bavaria's military deeds of old.

The Bürgerbräukeller remained to be seen right up until September 1979 when it was demolished *(see After the Battle No. 31)* to build the München City Hilton Hotel.

When we visited Munich in the mid-1970s, it was still possible to walk easily on top of the infilled bases of the two Ehrenmal, and the foliage was sparse enough to take reasonable comparisons like that on the opposite page. Today things are very different as the shrubs have grown into bushes and the saplings into mature trees. *Left:* The northern temple (the one being blown up) taken by the Editor in April 1975 and *right* the southern one pictured by Karel Margry in November 1987.

MALTA UPDATE

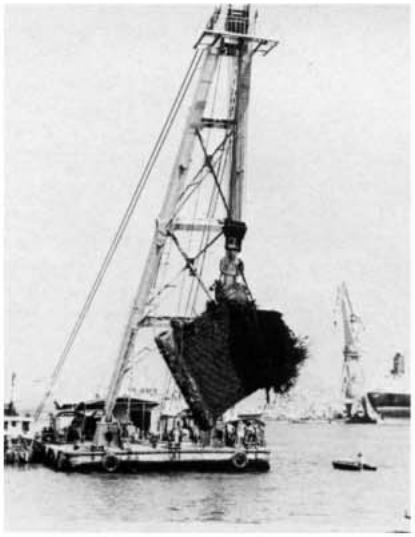
By Anthony Rogers

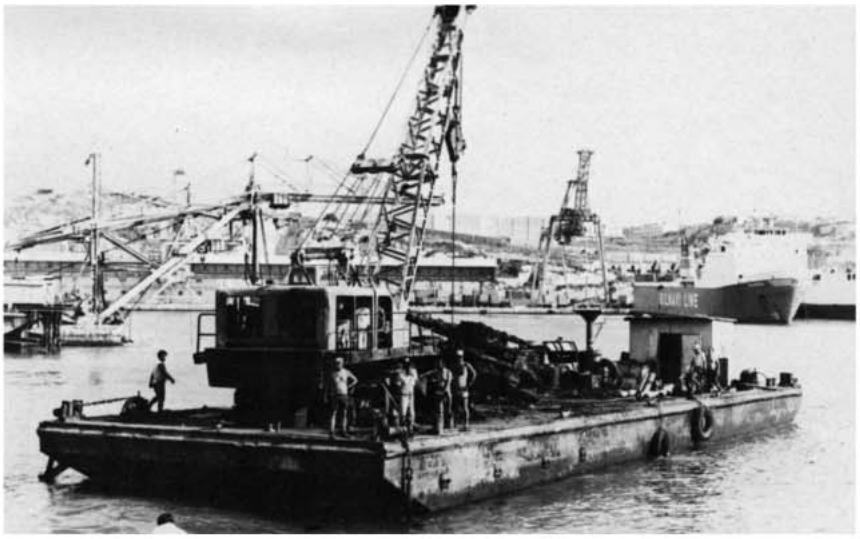
In March 1942, the British attempted to run a vital convoy from Alexandria to the beleagured island fortress of Malta. Operation MW10 consisted of the naval supply ship *Breconshire* and three merchantmen: *Clan Campbell*, *Talabot* and *Pampas*. The covering escort forces numbered five cruisers and 17 destroyers. At 9.00 a.m. on March 22, just half an hour after setting out, MW10 was subjected to its first attack and German high-flying bombers and Italian torpedo-carrying aircraft, later joined by dive bombers, harassed the convoy throughout that long day. The Royal Navy's immediate response was to hit back with every available AA gun. The deluge of fire saved the vessels from suffering even a single hit during this first onslaught.

In the afternoon, three Italian cruisers were sighted. There followed a brief exchange of fire, whereupon the Italians prudently withdrew. The convoy pressed on. At 4.40 p.m., the cruisers reappeared, accompanied by eight destroyers and the battleship *Littorio*. Fifty minutes later, HMS *Havock* was damaged when a 15-inch shell burst close alongside and another destroyer, HMS *Kingston* was struck by another shell that went right through her, exploding on the way out causing horrific damage in its wake. Nevertheless, the *Kingston* managed to release three torpedoes before coming to a halt. Shortly after, the Italian vessels retired and soon vanished in the gathering dusk.

At dawn on the 23rd, the Luftwaffe succeeded in crippling the *Breconshire* when only a few miles from her destination. The *Clan Campbell* was also hit, and sent to the bottom some 20 miles from Malta. *Talabot* and *Pampas* escaped to fight through to the port of Grand Harbour. On March 25, *Breconshire* was towed into Marsaxlokk Bay, at the cost of one of the escorting destoyers, HMS *Southwold*, lost after striking a mine.

During air attacks on March 26, *Pampas* took a direct hit, and *Talabot* was set on fire and had to be scuttled to prevent the flames





Top: **Diver examining the wreckage of HMS *Kingston* near St Paul's Island.** *Left:* **The secrets of Grand Harbour revealed after forty years. Remains of a ship's boiler and armament recovered from the site where HMS *Jersey* was mined in May 1941 (AFM).**

Ancient or modern? A seaman's boot on the forepart of HMS *Maori*.

from spreading and detonating the ammunition she carried. The following day, battered after continuous attacks by the Luftwaffe, *Breconshire* finally heeled over and settled on her side in the shallow waters of Malta's southernmost bay. After being brought to the island, the fleet destroyer *Kingston* was manoeuvred into drydock — where she was subsequently bombed and written off as a total loss. HMS *Havock* was destined to run aground off the coast of Tunisia while en-route to Gibraltar and yet another destroyer, HMS *Legion*, was sunk within 48 hours of reaching Grand Harbour.

Today, 47 years later, it is difficult to comprehend just what it was like for MW10 and other convoys battling their perilous way to a desperate island under siege. Except for those wrecks in deep water, little material evidence remains of these brave ships as the post-war years witnessed the clearance of many tons of wreckage then littering the coastline. In 1950, *Breconshire* was repaired sufficiently to be towed to Italy where she was eventually scrapped.

Clearance work on the *Pampas* and *Talabot* continued intermittently until their last remains were lifted clear of the harbour in the summer of 1985. The major operation, involving the Royal Navy and Armed Forces of Malta, resulted in the removal from the area of much wartime wreckage.

The fate of HMS *Legion* is unclear. Perhaps the destroyer was salvaged; perhaps she was used as a target vessel. On the other hand, it would be nice to know that she was simply towed clear and allowed to sink, quietly and with dignity, in deep water.

Of MW10, only wreckage from HMS *Kingston* now remains. After being removed from No. 4 Dock, the hull of this once-proud ship was used to block the narrow channel between St Paul's Island and the mainland. But still, the destroyer was not allowed to rest in peace. The rusting hulk was later blasted clear, so that today only shattered fragments are visible in the sandy seabed west of St Paul's.

Other known wartime wrecks include the destroyer, HMS *Maori*. She lies in two sections in different locations off Valletta. Another destroyer, HMS *Jersey*, was largely cleared in 1985, but wreckage still litters the entrance to Grand Harbour where the ship was mined on May 2, 1941. A vessel believed to be a submarine tender, or refuelling lighter, and known locally as the *Coralita* sits upright on a slope on the south side of the former submarine base of Manoel Island. Another — unidentified — wreck lies just outside the harbour, off Fort Ricasoli.

However, around Malta, a diver probably has more chance of discovering an aircraft than a shipwreck. Numerous Allied and Axis machines met their end in epic battles over the islands, but, as with the naval remains, a number of shallow water aircraft wrecks have also been salvaged since the war. Those that are found now tend to be in relatively deep water — with a few exceptions.

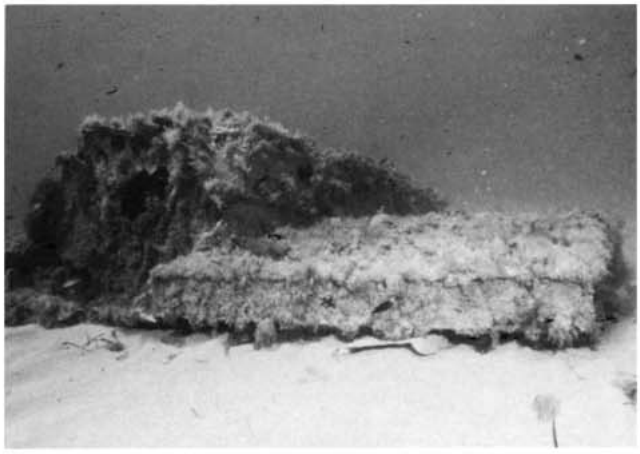
Not far from the wreckage of HMS *Kingston* can be seen the dispersed remains of a British aircraft in just three or four metres. On March 7, 1941, Sunderland L2164 of No. 228 Squadron was strafed by Messerschmitt Bf 109Es of 7/JG26 as she lay at anchor in St Paul's Bay. During the attack a sergeant was killed while bravely manning a Vickers 'K' gun from the midships position. Three days later L2164 was hit again and set on fire. She was sunk after efforts had been made to tow her ashore. What remains is spread about the middle of Mistra, a cove off St Paul's Bay. Most of the wreckage is concealed beneath sand and the poseidonia mounds that prevail in the area. However, in June 1989, while diving close to the shore, I came across a remarkably intact aileron. It is still there.

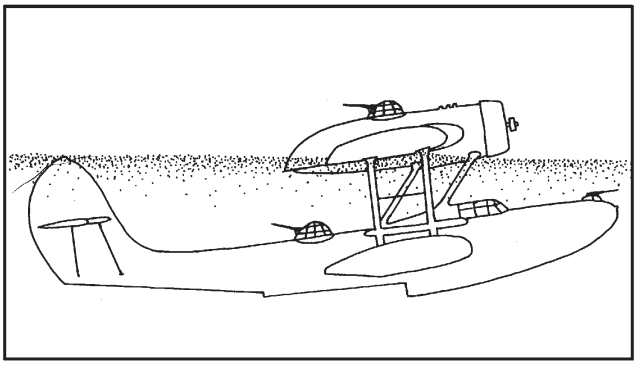
Searching for such wrecks is rarely so simple. In April 1942 a Hurricane was shot down by AA fire from its own side. In his excellent book *One Man's Window*, Denis Barnham described how the machine had plunged into the rocky ground 'while a smaller black shape' landed right at the water's edge, apparently near Mistra. So, when a fisherman claimed to have found 'a Hurricane' close to St Paul's Island, I became involved in a search for what I presumed were the remains of the machine whose end was witnessed by Denis Barnham. I thought it likely that the wreckage had probably been disposed of by being thrown into the nearby bay. Yet, despite searching the area indicated, nothing was found. Frustratingly, it was not until after I had left Malta in the summer of 1989 that a scuba diver was to tell me about finding an aircraft wheel protruding from sand close to the spot we had searched a year previously!

One wreck that all the diving clubs know about — and yet rarely visit 'because there isn't much left' — lies in just a few metres in Gnejna Bay, in north-west Malta. Local divers will tell you that it is Italian, either a Savoia Marchetti 79 or 81, or a Cant Z.506B. Its history remains a mystery. One fisherman

March 10, 1941 and the Sunderland of No. 228 Squadron lies burning in St Paul's Bay after being strafed by 7/JG26. (National War Museum Association, Malta)

Forty-eight years later Tony Rogers pictured this aileron lying on the seabed in Mistra Bay to where the wreckage had been towed before it sank. (All present day photographs were taken by Tony unless otherwise stated.)





Left: **All that remains to be seen of the Cant Z.501 in Gnejna Bay is the top of the wing section. Tony's illustration** *right* **illustrates how it may have settled in the sand.**

told me that he didn't think the aircraft was a wartime relic at all! Yet another recalled how the aeroplane was destroyed and even described seeing a dead crewman lying face down in the sea, his parachute deployed around him!

Having examined the wreck on several occasions, I am confident that it is actually an Italian Cant Z.501. All that is visible is the top (wing) section. This is firmly embedded in the sandy seabed. Contrary to popular opinion, it is not anchored there by its floats — these would have been situated midway along the wings, and only the wing roots now remain! An explanation is that part of the main cockpit and fuselage, attached by struts to the top section, still lies buried in the sand.

Naturally, the deeper the water, the better the odds of finding a relatively intact aircraft. A nice example sits in 40 metres off a bay in south-east Malta. The machine appears to be one of the Bristol series — a Beaufort, Blenheim or Beaufighter. Both wings are intact but the cockpit, which could have identified the aircraft type, is smashed. The tail unit lies close by. The fuselage is missing, or broken up and scattered around the main wreck. At 40 metres one does not have a lot of time to carry out a thorough area search and besides, what can be seen is fascinating enough.

This type of aircraft appears to have suffered considerable losses over Malta and several are reputed to lie off this part of the coast. Another, a Beaufort, sits 30 metres down — just off nearby Zonqor Point. Although dived extensively since being found in 1977, the wreck yielded a number of interesting items when a RAF diving team visited the site in October 1988. They recovered the aircraft control column, an instrument gauge and even the remains of a crewman's pullover!

It is amazing to see how differently the sea treats its relics. *Left:* **As could be expected, moderate corrosion to the Beaufort control column recovered by the RAF in 1988 near Zonqor Point (on the extreme eastern end of the island).** *Above:* **A holster was found amongst the wreckage but when the revolver was removed it was found that the weapon had disintegrated.** *Below:* **Yet one would have thought that something like a pullover would have long succumbed to the creatures of the sea. Also shown is the remains of a flying boot.**

One is forever hearing stories about similar finds. A local diver recently told me about a perfectly intact Ju 88 that his mate had located but, when both divers returned the next day, it was only to find that shifting sand had all but buried the aircraft. However, I have no reason to doubt the story, especially as the men concerned had just led me to a unique crash site on land.

Because of the island's rocky terrain, hardly any aircraft wreckage has survived the war years on land. Only once, on a hill overlooking Qrendi airstrip, have I seen evidence of where an aeroplane had crashed. I was more than a little surprised then, to be told about 'two machine guns sticking out of a field' somewhere near Ta Salieb, a hill in central Malta. This was the first time that I had ever heard of such a find. Yet, within days I was to hear another story revolving around an aircraft said to have crashed in the same area. The amazing tale concerned a 'German single-engined plane' which was supposed to have crash-landed in a field — no mean feat when you consider the tiny, rubble-walled enclosures. Unbelievably, the landowner had befriended the pilot, allowing him to walk free. The German then lived in Malta until the end of the war, whereupon he returned to his homeland!

And what had become of the aircraft? It seemed that the farmer, fearing the repercussions of his actions, had wisely decided to conceal the evidence in his field — where it remains to this very day!

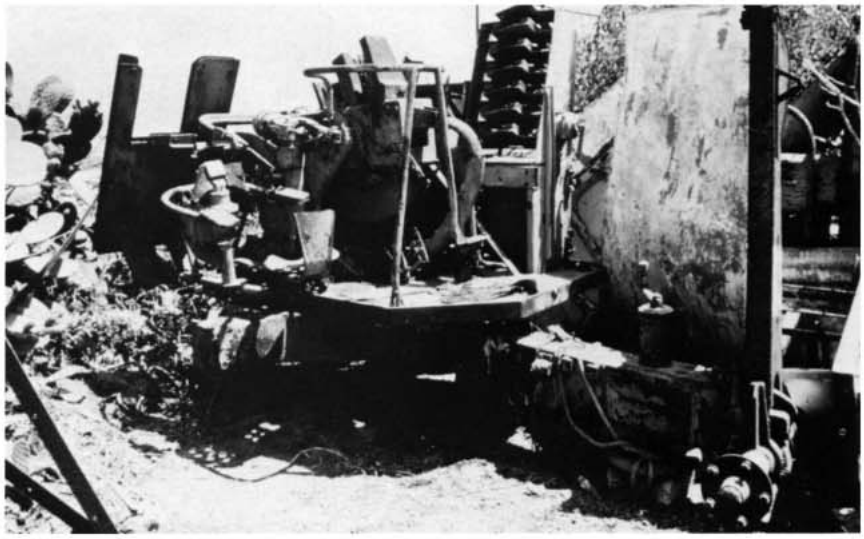
A wonderful tale, but could it be true? It seemed too much of a coincidence that there could be two wartime aircraft still sitting anywhere in the entire island, never mind in the same place. I didn't have long to wait for the answer. The day soon arrived when I found myself being driven to the site visited by my two guides of ten years previously. It took them a while to relocate the spot, then suddenly there it was! The remains of two cannons protruding rear-end uppermost from the rocky soil. There was nothing else so it was hardly an intact machine. Whatever these guns had belonged to had dived nose first into the ground and, as verified by the landowner's wife, any surface wreckage had been cleared long ago.

Did she know what type of aircraft had crashed here? She wasn't sure, but thought it may have been German. The cannon however, resembled Hispanos, and their spacing indicated that they probably came from a Spitfire. Anything else remaining to identify the wreck lay buried beneath a metre or so of soil.

It seems incongruous that the story of the

Fact and fiction. In a land where formal records of crashes are non-existent, one has to rely on local folklore. These up-ended cannon in a field near Ta Salieb seem almost too good to be true.

Above: **Parts of a Spitfire, probably dug up by a farmer or uncovered during construction work, pictured at Ta'Qali, June 1989.** *Below:* **Wreckage from a Beaufighter which later ended its days at Tigné.**



German fighter could somehow have originated from whatever events had taken place here in 1942. More likely, some wag had seen or heard about the guns and decided to build his own story around them. Some people have a strange sense of humour!

Underwater wrecks and rumours aside, what else can Malta offer the wartime enthusiast? Well worth a visit is a scrapyard hidden in the countryside at Benghisa. The place boasts an impressive collection of artifacts. Parts of a Mosquito aircraft, including the cockpit, lie rotting in the open next to a Matador AC truck. Elsewhere, a 40mm Bofors anti-aircraft gun nestles amongst some cacti. Its barrel lies in the back of another old lorry. However, the owners are unwilling to part with anything, and seem content to let it all fall into decay beneath the scorching summer sun and winter rains.

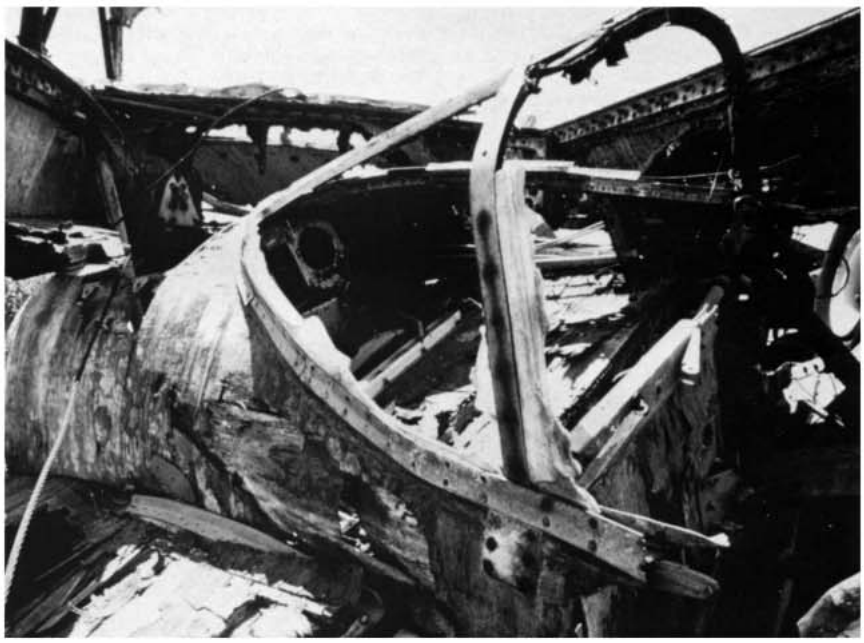
Nearby, the old airfield of Hal Far can still present a nostalgic sight for a returning Serviceman, although he would find it hard to ignore the new industrial estate that has sprung up there. A few minutes drive away another ex-naval base, Kalafrana, has been totally transformed with construction work still taking place at the time of writing.

An extended runway and demolition work has also altered Luqa airfield, the island's airport.

Ta'Qali, one of the most famous of the wartime airstrips, is now barely recognisable as such, with a big sports stadium and the inevitable industrial estate replacing original installations. Nevertheless, a careful inspection of the perimeter reveals air raid shelters, barbed wire defences and even occasional piece of aircraft wreckage. In the mid-1970s to early 1980s, demolition and excavation work uncovered a variety of wartime relics, and while clearing the ground for a reservoir, now situated north-east of the disused runway, an aircraft dump was unearthed. Pieces of airframe, aircraft fittings, radio equipment and ammunition were dug up and left strewn about the place.

Close by, where the stadium now stands, the cockpit and other parts of a Bristol Beaufighter were also found. Eventually, the cockpit was deposited at Tigné Barracks, near Sliema, where it remained for a year or two before disappearing altogether.

Much of Tigné itself is also disappearing! The old military base is currently the centre of a debate on whether a new road should bypass the wartime shore battery there, or simply slice straight through the battle-scarred bunkers and gun posts — some of which have already gone. Ironically, what the Italians and Germans failed to destroy during three years of bombing, is now being demolished voluntarily by the Maltese themselves!



The scrapyard at Benghisa holds many treasures . . . from Bofors barrels . . . to Mosquito cockpits . . . to Matadors.

From the Editor

September 1989 brought us to the first of the 50th World War II anniversaries which will be with us for the next six years. Human nature being what it is, we seem to set great store by remembering events past — be it after one, ten, fifty or whatever number of years have passed. It is sometimes a little meaningless, for the original day of the week often stuck in people's minds far more than the date, i.e. war for Britain began on a Sunday, as did America's war two years later. The climax of the Battle of Britain was also a Sunday, but would it have been the same if it had been a Monday morning with everyone at work? Fortuitously, this year September 3 did fall on a Sunday, so undoubtedly it meant more to those remembering back half a century.

With *After the Battle* we have already been looking back for more than 15 years. Deliberately, when we began in 1973, we did not set out to cover the war chronologically, as such a rigid strait-jacket would have prevented us from adapting to events as they have occurred. Nevertheless many items that we have published have themselves influenced events, and what we found in the 1970s does not necessarily still exist in the 1980s.

We have also done our best to present the facts impartially and not sensationalise history, so as to let our readers make up their own minds. We have come across many people over the years who try to find facts to fit their own theories or who set out to present a particular event from a preconceived point of view. The worst example of this recently concerned Operation Tiger — which we covered in our issue No. 44 on the Slapton Sands training area.

For a long time we had wanted to include this story of the pre-D-Day training operations which had until then been largely ignored, and the 40th anniversary of D-Day appeared to be an ideal opportunity. With the main centre of attention on Normandy, it was not until local guest-house proprietor Ken Small raised the Sherman (issue 45) in May that media attention first focussed on

Prelude to the 50th anniversary — then and now. *Above:* **In the summer of 1939 King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visited Canada on a six-week whistle-stop tour which did much to cement ties and rally support in the Dominion for Britain for the imminent conflict with Hitler's Germany.** *Top:* **In the summer of 1989 the Queen Mother returned — one nice touch of nostalgia was to use the same K-series Lincoln of 1939. This custom-built phaeton on 145-inch wheelbase V12-engined chassis had been produced specially for the royal visit in 1939. Subsequently known as the 'King George Phaeton', it has survived in the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan. (Toronto Star)**

The secret that never was. Apart from details of the Exercise 'Tiger' débâcle being included in post-war biographies, the *Report by the Supreme Commander to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Operations in Europe of the Allied Expeditionary Force* published by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1946, revealed that 'on 26 April the first full-scale exercise, TIGER, involving Force "U" under the command of Admiral Moon, took place from the Plymouth area. Owing to the fact that one of the escorting destroyers was damaged in a collision during the night of 26/27 April and was not on hand when the assault convoy was attacked by E-boats, there was an unfortunate loss of life in the sinking of two LST's.' Pictures like the one *above* have also been freely available for those who cared to look for them, showing the burial of victims of Tiger at the temporary American military cemetery at Brookwood — not secretly in unmarked graves in Devon as the media wanted to believe.

Devon. Wild, unsubstantiated reports of hundreds of American Servicemen still lying buried in secret graves following a successful German attack on the Tiger convoy helped fuel the controversy, but the story slowly ran out of steam with the absence of any hard evidence. By the time the restored tank was dedicated in November of that year (reported in issue 50) as a personal tribute by Ken to all those who lost their lives, Press interest had all but evaporated.

For the next three years Ken pressed on with his campaign to have an official memorial erected, a crusade which culminated in a meeting in Washington with the US Deputy Secretary of State for Defense, William Taft, and Congresswoman Beverly Byron, daughter of Captain Harry Butcher, Eisenhower's war-time naval aide, who had, ironically, written one of the first accounts of the incident in 1946.

With news of the impending unveiling scheduled for November 1987, the media suddenly woke up, convinced that there had been an almighty cover-up merely because they had only just discovered 'Tiger'. The fact that the details had been freely available for over forty years (as we clearly indicated in our article in 1984) was of no consequence — it spoiled a good witch-hunt. The Press was out for blood:

'It was a disaster which lay hidden from the world for 40 years . . . an official American Army cover-up,' screamed one headline.

'That a massive cover-up took place is beyond doubt. And that General Eisenhower authorised it is equally clear.'

Generals Bradley and Eisenhower watched 'the murderous chaos' and 'were horrified and determined that details of their own mistakes would be buried with their men.'

'Relatives of the dead men have been misinformed — and even lied to — by their government.'

It was 'a story that government kept quiet . . . hushed up for decades . . . a dirty little secret of World War II.'

We were bombarded with 'phone calls from newspapers and TV, and when I agreed to be interviewed on a certain television station, because the facts I acquainted them with were not what the producer wanted to hear, I was asked point-blank 'if I had to speak from the heart'; another variation on that awful euphemism coined by Sir Robert Armstrong in Australia during the Peter Wright affair, of 'being economical with the truth'.

Having recounted the events in detail in issue 44 for the 40th anniversary of D-Day, we were surprised at the gullibility of organisations like CBS, the BBC and ITV, for giving credence to the myths once again on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial in 1987. Ken Small fought hard to get the casualties at Slapton remembered; on Sunday, November 15, he achieved his goal.

1655.	" " landed.	
2234.	A hostile raid, numbered 42 J, entered Sector, having crossed East Coast near Berwick. This raid was thought to be an Me. 110 by the R.O.C. and came almost to the West Coast at Irvine before turning East again. A Defiant of 141 Squadron attempted to intercept but failed to do so.	
2300.	A report was received that this raid had crashed near Eaglesham and that at least one occupant had baled out. Officers from the Station went to the site and established from the wreck-age that the aircraft was a Messerschmitt 110 and that it carried neither ammunition for its guns nor cannon. The pilot was captured within a few minutes and, apart from slight injuries to his back, was uninjured. He gave his name as Alfred Horn and claimed that he had come to see his friend the Duke of Hamilton. His English was good. He was removed to Home Guard H.Q. at Giffnock and later to Maryhill Barracks in Glasgow.	
	It was discovered two days later that this airman was Rudolf Hess.	

The relevant extract from the Operations Record Book of RAF Ayr enclosed with the letter I received from Don Aris.

Our last follow-up feature appeared in November 1987, in the same issue, No. 58, which included the story on Rudolf Hess. It was inevitable that the death of Hitler's imprisoned deputy would cause controversy, but the issues subsequently raised will keep historians arguing for years — at least until the files are released some time in the next century.

We received a variety of correspondence from readers putting forward their own theories. Don Aris of Richmond, Surrey, researching the history of No. 141 Squadron:

'On May 10, 141 Sqdn was based at Ayr, near Prestwick on the west coast of Scotland and was flying Defiant aircraft as a night fighter squadron. I have researched the Operations Record Books of the squadron, RAF Station Ayr and No. 13 Group Headquarters. In the ORB of RAF Station Ayr I came across the entry, copy enclosed, covering the crash of Rudolf Hess's Me 110 at Eaglesham.

'Your author, Denis Bateman, did not mention that a Defiant of 141 Sqdn attempted to intercept Hess's aircraft and failed to do so. This is understandable as the Defiants were not fitted with AI radar and could only be directed to the approximate position of an enemy aircraft and then had to rely on eyesight, the AA fire and searchlights if any, to tell them where the enemy aircraft was.

'It is easy to speculate on how different history would have been had they found and shot down, and no doubt killed, Hess. For him there would have been no Nuremberg trial, no imprisonment for 46 years and no necessity for the Allied Powers to maintain and guard Spandau Prison for Hess alone for 21 years.

'There is no mention in the ORB of 141 Sqdn of this possible interception. Only 4 Defiants were sent on patrol on the night of the 10th May 1941 and they were:

Defiant T3943 Sgt King with air gunner Sgt Lewis. Up 23.50 Down 00.10
Defiant N1725 F/O Gardner with air gunner P/O Lammer. Up 03.20 Down 05.15
Defiant T3926 S/L Wolfe with air gunner P/O Pearmain. Up 03.25 Down 05.10
Defiant T4040 P/O Cuddie with air gunner Sgt Hodge. Up 22.35 Down 23.25

'From this it can be seen that only the Defiant of P/O Cuddie and Sgt Hodge was airborne at the time of Hess's arrival in their sector. Just think of what P/O Cuddie and Sgt Hodge could have saved the Allies. I wonder if they are alive today and if they realise their association with such an historic event.'

Mr F. V. Kirby of Iver, Bucks, wrote to say that 'I lived in Beaconsfield, Bucks, during the war and I recall there was a very strong rumour that Hess was taken to Wilton Park for meetings/interrogation. Although Wilton Park didn't become a full-blown PoW centre until later, it had been the HQ of MI9 since October 1940 so even that would have been credible except that it doesn't seem to fit anywhere into the timetable. Why does one still get the sneaking feeling that on the Hess story we still haven't been told the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth?'

Mr J. Paterson who lives at Eaglesham where Hess landed by parachute has made a particular study of the affair:

'On the flight itself I have thought often that the navigation was just too good for a pilot who was not flying every day. Even bomber crews at this time were off by 100 miles. What I find is difficult to believe that he spent months studying an OS map of Scotland without someone noticing or becoming curious. One landmark you omitted to mention was Eaglesham House, similar to Dungavel, lying to the right of Floors Road, sadly destroyed by fire in the early fifties. This may have misled him at the end of the flight . . .

'I am sure that Hess was taken to Giffnoch

The enigma of Rudolf Hess: is it the same man. David Irving rushed into print with his book *Hess: The Missing Years 1941–1945* soon after Prisoner No. 7 died in 1987. His meticulously-researched book goes as far as anyone can at the moment, using those files which are publicly available, to explain what happened to Hess during the war years. However, as Irving has a reputation for being outspoken, it was unusual for him to avoid the contentious issues surrounding the identity of the deceased and the cause of death.

police station, as there is a photo of the escort at the entrance. In the sixties or early seventies, a light aircraft with German markings appeared over Eaglesham, one occupant made a parachute descent into the same field. This was part of a campaign to highlight Hess's captivity. The parachutist was promptly arrested, charged with an offence under the Air Navigation Order, taken to Giffnoch, the group being photographed on the same location à la ATB!'

I replied to Mr Paterson explaining that neither of the two Army reports on the capture of Hess state that he was taken to Giffnoch police station — only that a pair of handcuffs were collected from there en route to Busby.

Georges van Acker wrote from Kontich, Belgium, to give us the results of his detailed research into the claims by Hugh Thomas that the real Hess was murdered in 1941 and his place taken by a double (see page 22 of issue 58). Professor Thomas's beliefs have been given much publicity since his first book was published in 1979 and the Ministry of Defence carried out a detailed investigation of the points he raised at the time of publication. Some of the flaws in Thomas's arguments are summarised by Georges van Acker:

'Hugh Thomas describes the Bf 110 as follows: serial number 3526/52, D Type, fuselage markings NJ+OQ, mentions a NJ+C11 code, says that NJ means Nachtjäger.

'Regarding the serial number, this number, 3526/32, and not 52, is not the serial number because 3526 is the production order number, whereas the number 32 means that it is the 32nd aircraft produced. I must mention the fact that in Hugh Thomas's book the 6 looks like an 8, while in *After the Battle* No. 58, the 6 looks like a 6.

'Since we know that the Werknummer (Works number) of the aircraft was 3869, we know for certain that it was a Bf 110D-3, powered by two Daimler-Benz DB 601A engines. Further evidence is the groove running along the upper part of the rear fuselage. This groove contained a wire enabling the crew, by pulling the wire from inside the cockpit in case of a landing at sea, to release the rubber dinghy stored in the rear part of the elongated tail. When the wire was pulled, a locking pin retracted and loosened a panel situated near the tailwheel; the crew were then able to pull the dinghy out of its compartment. This same device was also seen on Bf 110D-OB-type aircraft.

'Now, let's have another look at the production order number. If this is 3526/32 then this number has nothing to do with Hess's aircraft in which he flew to Scotland. In *The Blitz Then and Now*, Volume 1, there is on page 193 a photograph, depicting the maker's plate of a Bf 110. On it one can see the production order number 3526/38 — the number 38 means that it was the 38th aircraft produced — and the Werknummer 3369. Therefore, 3526/32 can't belong to the aircraft Hess used on his famous flight because the Werknummer of the aircraft he flew was 3869! Between 3526/32 and 3526/38 is a difference of 6 aircraft, but the difference between both Werknummern is 500 aircraft! This would mean that the 32nd aircraft of production order 3526 would have Werknummer 3869, and the 38th produced aircraft the Werknummer 3369! This is out of the question because Werknummern were allocated in numerical order and, most of the time, to aircraft of the same version. Bf 110s with Werknummern 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3373 and 3374 were Bf 110D-Os, while aircraft with Werknummern 3869 and 3873 were Bf 110D-3s. As remarked before, Werknummern were allocated in numerical order, and per version, but there were exceptions to this rule. According to the Messerschmitt AG Lieferplan nr.17c, dated 3.7.40, there is stated: "Umbau-Flugzeuge, folgende Werk-Nr. wurden von D-O umgebaut: Werk-Nr. 3149-3151 und 3163-3165 in D-1=6 Bf 110-D-1; Werk-Nr. 3167, 3175, 3321-3324 und 3336-3344 in D-OB=15 Bf 110-D-OB." (Aircraft to be modified, the following Werk-Nr. are to be modified from D-O.)

'This makes it clear that, from a series of Werknummern allocated to a certain version of the Bf 110, some aircraft were taken from the assembly line and the original version changed into another. This could amount to a total of some 20 or 30 aircraft but NEVER to an amount of 500 aircraft.

'In Hugh Thomas's book, next to page 64, are two photographs of Bf 110s, one of them allegedly being Hess's plane, while the other depicts a Bf 110D (according to Hugh Thomas) with underwing tanks. The first photograph is definitively NOT Hess's aircraft, because the aircraft shown is a Bf 110E-2; note the elongated tail and air intake opening between the nose-mounted MG17s. The second photograph depicts a Bf 110G-2 — and NOT a D-type — with MG81Z Zwilling machine gun mounted in the rear cockpit and 300-litre drop tanks beneath the wings.

'This brings us to the riddle of the drop tanks and the distance flown by Hess on his flight to Scotland. According to Hugh Thomas, the aircraft wasn't capable of flying that distance, and he explains why in chapter three of his book.

'In a letter, dated 31.03.1979, Walter Grabmann writes the following: "It was also possible to install 900-litre drop tanks, the same as used by bomber aircraft. Such a test was made by me (early 1941) on a flight from Stavanger to Kirkenes, a distance of some 2,000km — the present writer estimates this

Professor Hugh Thomas, on the other hand, has been at the centre of the controversy ever since his book *The Murder of Rudolf Hess* was published ten years ago. He is the architect of the argument that the man who arrived in England in 1941, and who died in Spandau, was not the real Deputy Führer because of inconsistencies in the known facts about the real Hess — mainly medical. Georges van Acker wrote to us concerning some of the points argued by Thomas concerning the aircraft Hess used. This picture shows the number below the cockpit.

These are the other two pictures which appear facing page 64 of Thomas's book. The Professor captions them as follows: *Left:* **'Three forty-five p.m. May 10th, 1941. Hess's plane takes off. Note absence of auxiliary fuel tanks. Photograph by his adjutant Pintsch.** *Right:* **'An Me 110D in flight, one of its two underwing tanks clearly showing.'**

distance to be 3,500km! The Me 110 thus had a flying time of 5 hours and 40 minutes; the empty tanks were dropped just before landing." Since Hess took off from Augsburg at 17.45 hrs and arrived near Kilmarnock around 22.50 hrs, his flying time amounted to 5 hours and 5 minutes; the aircraft came down around 23.05 hrs, so we must add another 15 minutes of flying time. This means that Hess had ample time to reach Scotland on a one-way flight.

'According to Derek Wood's History of the Royal Observer Corps entitled *Attack Warning Red*, Major Donald's inspection of the smouldering wreckage of Hess's aircraft revealed it to be "scattered over about one-and-a-half acres." He claimed to have "rolled the main fuel tank clear of the flames and found that only three or four gallons were left." So the aircraft COULD have carried a centrally-mounted fuel tank (the successor of the Dackelbauch) AND two 900-litre fuel tanks beneath the wings. Since these three drop tanks would produce an enormous drag and influence the flying characteristics of the aircraft, this assumption can be discarded, although the possibility remains. Furthermore, isn't it possible that those three externally-mounted drop tanks would arouse suspicion amongst the onlookers? All of them were familiar with aircraft and would know for sure that Hess's flight would not be a short one!

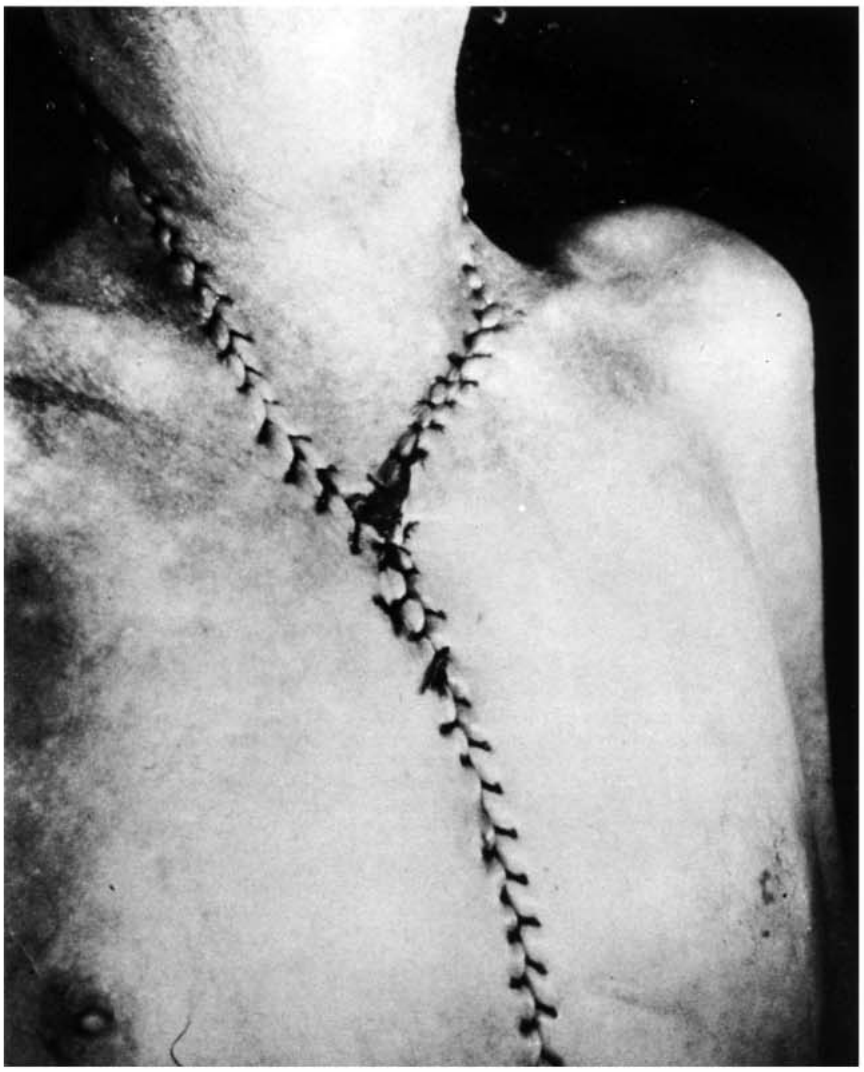
'The fuselage markings have been variously described as being: NJ+OQ (Hugh Thomas), GJ+OO (*AIR International*, Feb. 1986), VJ+OO (*AIR International*, July 1986) and VJ+OQ by others. A study of photographs taken at the time of the crash and at the IWM makes it clear that the Stammkennzeichen of Hess's aircraft is indeed VJ+OQ, no doubt about that; other codes of the same series were VJ+OF and VJ+OL.

'Regarding the NJ+C11 code, one can only say that this is a misinterpretation by Hugh Thomas when consulting Karl Ries' *Markings and Camouflage Systems of the Luftwaffe*. One of the rare instances a letter N, denoting a Nachtjäger unit, was used by the Luftwaffe can be seen on some Bf 109Cs of 11(N)/JG2. They were photographed at Vaernes airfield, Norway, in 1940 and carry the fuselage markings N+5, N+9, N+10, etc.'

Although some of Professor Thomas's technical arguments are somewhat discredited, the medical aspects of the case he puts forward are not so easily dismissed. As consultant military surgeon he claims to have had the opportunity to examine Hess in Spandau in 1973 and says that his suspicions were aroused when he found no signs of the war wounds suffered by Hess in the First World War:

'In 1917 Rudolf Hess passed out from blood loss when being casevaced to hospital with a shrapnel wound in his left arm,' wrote Thomas to the Editor in June 1989. 'Shortly after this he sustained a minor shrapnel wound just below the first, on the outer anterior surface of his upper arm.

'In 1918 he was shot at thirty paces by a rifle, the bullet, equivalent to an old .303 Lee Enfield, entering two inches below his shoulder and exiting just under his left shoulder blade. Hess lost six pints of blood, a third of his left lung substance, and his eighth rib, removed at operation. He was still flat on his back in hospital after a month, and took a year to convalesce, being discharged medically unfit for service. Hess gained an Iron Cross 2nd class for his courage in leading his men in the charge. His wife and secretaries and friends all remembered that he was a respiratory cripple after that, and recalled the scars. Apart from his operation scar — a 20-centimetre long cut along the bed of the eighth rib — he must have had obvious and marked depressions especially over his exit wound.



However, where medical matters are concerned, one cannot argue with Professor Thomas's credentials. As a consultant surgeon in the Royal Army Medical Corps from 1970 to 1978, he gained exceptional experience of gunshot wounds and their effects while serving in Belfast, and today he is Consultant Surgeon with the Mid-Glamorgan Health Authority. It was the lack of a scar on the chest of Prisoner No. 7 which first raised his suspicions for the records state that Hess had been shot through the top left lung in the First World War. The Professor explains that a healed gunshot wound, even after 70 years, would not disappear, especially one of the magnitude caused by a close-range, high-powered military rifle, yet no trace of a scar is visible on the upper left chest in the post-mortem photograph. The two small knife cuts, visible between the left nipple and the PM incision, cannot be from the bullet wound as, being over the heart, a hit in that position would have been fatal. They probably date from 1945 when the prisoner deliberately stabbed himself in the chest with a bread knife. Although all this evidence appears highly plausible, to your Editor there is one aspect which is the crux of the whole mystery and I put it to Professor Thomas: if the man in Spandau *was* a double, why did he prolong the subterfuge beyond 1945? Why stand trial at Nuremberg for crimes he did not commit and risk the death penalty? And why sacrifice the rest of his life to imprisonment? To those questions even the Professor has no answer.

'I said as much of the above in my first and second books on Hess, which pointed out that Prisoner No. 7 had none of these scars, but the British Government dismissed my claim, saying that there were scars present on his chest, indicating a gunshot wound.

'Two post-mortems have now revealed that I was not mistaken. The British Foreign Office, not thinking I had the post-mortem reports, lied on several occasions. Mrs Linda Chalker stated that there was a definite gunshot wound present as recorded in the post-mortem! When I sent the Foreign Office copies of the post-mortems, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Minister, answered that there was a clear-cut scar — the *only* one — but there was no mistaking the fact that it was a gunshot wound. When it was pointed out that with no exit wound and no operation scar the bullet must be still inside the body, he invented the first emergency exit wound in history; apparently found by an anonymous expert who was prepared to swear it was a GSW.

I then sent Geoffrey Howe photographs of the ONLY scars on the front or back of Prisoner No. 7's chest — little knife wounds in the skin lying right over the FRONT of the heart. His reply was to say that there had been much previous misunderstanding, and experts would always differ, but that his anonymous expert was still prepared to swear that he had seen a definite gunshot wound on the BACK of the chest. "Common sense will dictate that for there to be an exit wound there must have at some time been present an entrance wound." I wished that I had thought of that!

The destruction of evidence concerning the death, be it suicide, accidental strangulation or, as Thomas intimates, murder, has only increased suspicions that someone has something to hide. We were told in 1987 that the location of the garden shed could not be disclosed; in fact it had already been burned to the ground. The piece of flex found around the neck *(above)* was likewise destroyed — two actions unthinkable in any investigation into a death from unnatural causes.

'I also wished that I hadn't seen the three Army Special Investigation Board reports, imaginatively re-written to make no one culpable for the extra hour's delay, the death actually occurring at or around 2.30, not 3.30 p.m., or knew of the photograph of the Spandau garden shed window taken BEFORE the SIB recorded that a flex was attached to the window catch: yet clearly showing no such flex. Neither did I feel happy about the fact that the alleged suicide instrument — the flex — had been destroyed by the British Military Governor personally, and the actual shed ordered burnt to the ground BEFORE either could be seen by the forensic pathologist who was known to be arriving four hours later!

'I informed the Director of Public Prosecutions of my investigations, and evidence in the form of affidavits which suggested that Number 7 was murdered by strangulation in accordance with the findings of Dr Wolfgang Spann and his three professional associates from Munich. As a result, Chief Superintendent Howard Jones of Scotland Yard has spent several frustrated months being blocked by the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign Office. His conclusions — that a full murder investigation ought to be set up to include the question of the identity of the prisoner — went down like a lead balloon. The FO are still trying to suppress his report.

'Whilst the Foreign Office were in a blind funk trying to impress Howard Jones in order to reassure him I had been talking rubbish, they produced several batches of FORGED 1941 documents stamped TOP SECRET. (The original material was stamped MOST SECRET and is now safe — outside FO hands!) I personally believe that the FO will succeed in preventing further investigation, relying on public apathy. If so, they will nevertheless have produced some extremely funny written replies to Members of Parliament:

"The prisoner (5ft 9in) was found hanging freely from a flex which he attached to a high window catch (4ft 9in)." "The prisoner having found a length of flex already attached to a window catch and already formed into a noose, slipped it over his head and threw himself backwards thereby hitting his head on the floor and hanging himself at the same time."

'The latest is the funniest as they were trying to incorporate the term "a typical hanging", having to admit to Scotland Yard that the flex was not attached to the window. I quote from Linda Chalker's letter to Rhodri Morgan, MP: "It is now our opinion that the prisoner found a length of flex, and tied it loosely around his neck before slumping to the floor. We consider this to be a very typical form of hanging." '

Professor Thomas firmly believes that Hess's 'quite definitely proven double' was murdered, the reason being because, says Thomas, 'as has now been confirmed to Labour MPs, Gorbachov had offered von Weisacker, the West German President, the release of the prisoner. A totally unacceptable risk to the British hiding behind the veto.'

Dr Spann, the German forensic expert who carried out the second examination of the body on behalf of Hess's son, Wolf Rüdiger, also came to the conclusion that 'fresh wounds on the neck indicated purposely carried out strangulation rather than death through hanging,' what Thomas referred to in a BBC radio interview as 'the first horizontal hanging in history'. Wolf-Rüdiger Hess also threw doubt on the suicide note which he said was based on an earlier letter written by his father in 1969 prior to a stomach operation from which he did not expect to survive.

Claiming that 'at 93 my father was too weak to hang himself', Hess, the son, was interviewed by Chief Superintendent Howard Jones of the Yard in February 1989 as part of a British legal investigation into the murder theory. This was given more credence the following month when Abdallah Melaouhi, the closest person to Hess for the last five years of his life in Spandau, confirmed in a BBC television interview that he was arthritic, frail and incapable of tying his shoe-laces. The Tunisian-born prison nurse said that there was no way Hess would have been able to hang himself.

We were told in October 1987 by the British Military Government in Berlin that all Hess's personal possessions in Spandau had been destroyed. It was therefore with some surprise that we read the first newspaper reports in December 1988 that two men had been arrested in the Queen's Hotel in Hamburg by the Kripo (German CID) in possession of several items belonging to Hess which they had tried to sell. When the full story came out it was revealed that Steven Timson, a British warder at Spandau, had taken a uniform, side cap, leather flying

In this picture taken on October 9, 1945, we see Hess in some of his flying kit being interrogated by Colonel John H. Amen at Nuremberg. The official statement we received in October 1987 that all Hess's personal belongings had also been destroyed fell rather flat when we heard in December 1988 that his uniform and other items were coming up for auction! As it happened, that event never materialised; instead a British prison officer at Spandau was charged with theft and extortion.

'Holocaust' News

No.1 PUBLISHED BY THE CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW 15p

'HOLOCAUST' STORY AN EVIL HOAX

'MASS GASSING' ACCOUNTS ARE SCIENTIFICALLY IMPOSSIBLE

A piece from issue 27 lifted without permission for the front cover of *'Holocaust' News* with the following caption: 'The above photographs and caption are not taken from some "neo-Nazi extremist" publication, but from issue No. 27 (1980) of the military history journal *After the Battle*. It illustrates an article about Dachau by the anti-Nazi journalist and historian Andrew Mollo. We ask: Why was the room photographed originally described as a "Gas Chamber" (for killing people) and why was the door later painted over?' (I made no reply, not wishing to become embroiled with such a news sheet on an issue of historically-proven fact.)

helmet, a rubber 'AH' stamp, several watches, a torch and a cigarette case which he had found in the prison store-room. He had managed to get the items out of the prison without being caught by putting on the trousers under his own and having smuggled the rest out in a bag he hid them under a bed at his brother-in-law's.

Timson was offered £10,000 by a London dealer and we were alerted when we heard that one of Hess's uniforms was going to be auctioned only to find that it had been mysteriously withdrawn. What had happened was that, in the belief that the items were worth far more than had been offered, Hess's son was telephoned in October with a threat to sell the items in the United States unless he bought them for DM 500,000 — some £150,000. Wolf-Rüdiger pretended to go along with the plan and both Britons were arrested at the hotel rendezvous on December 10.

In April 1989, Timson was found guilty of theft and attempted extortion by the Tiergarten Lower District Court in Berlin and sentenced to one year's imprisonment with probation for two years. The charges against his brother-in-law, Paul Warman, were dropped.

No sooner had we heard of the arrest of Timson and Warman in Hamburg than Christopher Elliott, long-time ATB reader and aviation collector, informed us that pressure of a different kind was being exerted on him by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to hand over the oxygen mask illustrated on page 10 of issue 58. This had been in his possession since 1954 when he was given it by David McLean who had picked it up from the field at Floors Farm where Hess landed. At first I could not believe it, but Christopher assured me it was true and supplied copies of his correspondence to prove it.

Alastair Dodds of the Royal Museum of Scotland wrote to tell us that although the fuselage of the Bf 110, which had been displayed in the East Fortune exhibition 'The Flight of Rudolf Hess', had been returned to the Imperial War Museum, they still held the second engine. Mr Dodds also informed us that various items of personal property, including the camera which Hess had given to the Duke of Hamilton, had been returned by the Duke to Frau Hess, although he still retained the flight map which was displayed in his family seat at Lennoxlove.

We achieved an undesirable front page position in August 1988 when the *Holocaust News* lifted, without our permission, pictures from issue No. 27 for their first edition. This dubious broadsheet is published by the 'Centre for Historical Review' and has been linked with the British National Party — the nearest organisation in Britain today to the Nazi party of old. Although there would be no point in taking issue with the CHR and giving them the opportunity of achieving even more publicity, I was not a little annoyed to find us being used as a tool in their propaganda campaign.

'In issue No. 58 I was amused by your experiences as technical adviser to *War and Remembrance'* wrote Greg Taylor in September 1988. 'It reminded me of how similar I felt while working for ABC at their Barstow, California, location. Desert battlefield scenes were shot at Fort Irwin, the Army's principal desert armoured training base. It was supposed to double for the second El Alamein. Being a bit of a student of the North African campaign, it was hard to deal with some of the technical errors.

'I think a combination of factors contributes to historical errors in war movies. It can start with a script writer who has not done enough research into details, and with later changes, original small errors can grow to large ones. By the time a technical consultant is hired to "work the bugs out", certain strategic decisions have already been made and are irreversible. At least in the States, the Transportation Departments are responsible for locating period vehicles, a job which logically should be done by the Art Director. Often both have too much to do in a short time, and there is not time to "shop around" for correct equipment. When they don't know, or care, what is correct, they usually shop for the cheapest price. How many times we have heard the statement: " . . . a jeep is a jeep!"

'The vehicle rental company that is anxious to "make a buck" will substitute equipment if they think the film company either doesn't know or doesn't care. The fact of the matter is that more and more people are becoming educated about anachronisms.

'When our group was contracted to provide most of the vehicles for close-up and drive-thru shots, we had a month to prepare. The Transportation Director was concerned about getting as much correct equipment as possible. In addition to my own German SdKfz 10 semi-track and Kettenkrad, we supplied other genuine Wehrmacht vehicles, artillery, half-tracks, scout car, trucks and an M-3 Grant replica "Lulabelle" (ex film "1941") from the Jack Tomlin collection in Utah. Leo Gay brought his nicely restored Dingo and Australian-pattern carrier. In addition, we had time to take a couple of "beyond restoration" MB Jeeps and convert them to SAS Jeeps. The totally kitted jeeps were a hit with the ABC folks, but when our crews put on their Arab kaffeyehs, hands went in the air! "There were no Arabs in the British Army" a wardrobe man was heard to say. But before our explanation was convincing, veteran actor Robert Morley came to the rescue. The kaffeyehs stayed. It was a small victory for authenticity even though we can't be sure where Stirling's boys were in those particular days of October 1942.

'The battlefield stretched out over a mile and nearly one hundred vehicles were spotted about. Nearly two dozen M-47 Patton tanks were painted tan and taken out to represent knocked out German Panzers (remember *Battle of the Bulge*), but, at our urging, quite a bit of camouflage was placed to try to disguise their identity. Once the pall of smoke settled over, it was hoped they would be disguised even more. I guess we shall see sometime this fall.

'The terrain itself had problems from an authenticity standpoint. The site chosen was rugged and mountainous; El Alamein was mostly flat and with a few "mined" and "wired" wadis. It really looked more like Halfaya Pass.

'On the last day of the shoot, we ended up (by accident) in the actors' chow line and got to meet and talk with Victoria Tennant. We can understand now why you were so similarly thrilled to meet her.'

Greg Taylor and friends earning their bit of the $100 million which went towards making *War and Remembrance*.

Coincidence or cover up? *Above:* **Within months of publication of our article on the Rüsselsheim 'Death March', cosmetic alterations transformed the former back street scene of the crime. Down in the cemetery, Captain Damon found that headstones had been removed from the graves of those who had been executed by the Americans.** *Below left:* **Josef Hartgen's grave as we found it for issue 57.** *Below right:* **As pictured by Captain Damon early in 1988.**

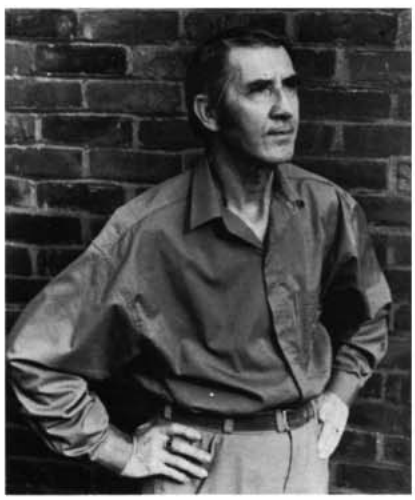
The way in which film or television producers tend to 'manipulate' history to fit the particular point they are trying to make was illustrated again to me in June 1989 when I received a call from a company wanting to make a programme about American military justice being biased against coloured soldiers. They cited our issue 59 and the piece we did on Shepton Mallet and wanted me to say that because of the large number of black soldiers executed for rape, this was a good example of unfair justice. I refused to have words put into my mouth or to have anything to do with the project. I deliberately did not play on the black/white aspect in the cases discussed in issue 59 but I clearly stated on page 30 that offenders overall were split 55 percent white and 45 percent coloured. Any further contentions would require much more research to establish the proportion of black/white troops in the areas concerned at the time.

In August 1987 we published issue 57 and at the end of the year Captain P. J. Damon wrote to us from Flight Operations at the Kuwait Airways Corporation:

'I am in Frankfurt regularly every month and I decided to go to Rüsselsheim to follow your story on the Death March. I found that the wall running alongside the railway had recently been pulled down and a new one is apparently being erected. The shed has also been demolished on the railway side of the fence.'

Is it a coincidence that so many places change or artifacts disappear as soon as we have publicised them in *After the Battle*? Read on:

'When I reached the cemetery,' continued Captain Damon, 'I found that Hartgen's grave was no longer marked with a headstone and the paved path and conifers had gone. Opper's also appeared to have been taken away. I wonder if your article prompted the authorities to remove them.'



Even stranger was the information we received via Peter Gaskin of Grays, Essex, that he had met a chap, Jamie Pugh, on a Para veterans' tour to Holland who said he was one of those in the group at Rüsselsheim. When we asked how a British soldier came to be wearing American uniform, he said that Mr Pugh had told him that he was working under direct orders from Churchill on war crimes investigations and the uniform was part of his cover. We interviewed Jamie Pugh in October 1989. He told us that he had originally enlisted in the Rifle Brigade and was selected for special training for undercover operations in 1943 using an assumed name, 'Captain John Savage'. His pay book lists the unit as 'Special Forces, Europe SAS Sec-150' and states that with the acting rank of Captain, he had been 'trained to high proficiency for all operations — code-name held for state security — ref. Col. Cunningham — ref. Liaison Churchill'. This was a new one to your Editor but Jamie today *(left)* **certainly looks like the fellow in the 1945 picture (circled in photo** *top left*). **Since then life has been hard on James Pugh, and he blames his chronic health problems on the strain and stress of the operations he had to carry out during the war. He told me that because the unit was so secret, no records were kept and that the Army today deny all knowledge of his service with 'Sec-150' of the SAS. He said he carried a warrant signed by Churchill and Mountbatten that he was to be given every assistance and not to be impeded in his job in any way although Churchill told him after each meeting that 'none of these conversations has taken place'. He said he was in Rüsselsheim that day by chance with his driver Chuck Kranz and he was asked to help interrogate two of the German prisoners. We told Jamie Pugh we would try to corroborate his story so if readers can add anything we would be pleased to hear from them.**

While on the subject of military justice, in issue 50 I mentioned the research conducted by Anthony Babington into capital courts-martial in the First World War for his book *For the Sake of Example*. Judge Babington was given exceptional permission to view the closed records providing nothing was published which could identify the accused. Now, Julian Putkowski and Julian Sykes have revealed all in their book *Shot at Dawn* (published October 1989 by Wharncliffe Publishing Ltd) which is likely to cause waves in official circles. With British courts-martial records closed for 100 years (reduced to 75 years in 1974), someone slipped up in depositing file WO93/49 in the Public Record Office during a reorganisation, which not only contained all the names of those executed for desertion but was open to the public! The authors found the publishing organ of the *Barnsley Chronicle* willing to publish the results of their research, claiming that the evidence of the miscarriage of justice now warrants the granting of posthumous pardons to all the 346 executed men. Undoubtedly it will come as a shock to many of the families of those who were told at the time that a particular husband or son had 'died of wounds', or some such euphemism, only to find out that this was not true. Of all the cemeteries on the Western Front, Poperinghe New Military Cemetery *(above)* contains the greatest number of executed dead — seventeen. (Commonwealth War Graves Commission)

Issue 59 was published in February 1988 — the following month the Orange County edition of the *Los Angeles Times* reported that Louis Martinez, nephew of Private Alex Miranda (page 40) was making a formal request to the US Army to reverse his uncle's murder conviction and instead find him guilty on the lesser charge of manslaughter. He also wanted the body exhumed in France and returned to the family.

The American Army's Board for Correction of Military Records in Washington currently receives 20,000-odd requests for changes in records each year, most asking that a dishonorable discharge be upgraded to honorable. About a quarter of all cases refer to the Second World War but some date back to men who fought in the Civil War.

Louis Martinez believes that his Uncle Alex was too drunk to realise the consequences of his actions, and cites the wording of Major General R. O. Barton's affirming recommendation in 1944, that an example needed to be set in this case for other soldiers that 'in the interests of military discipline, it is considered necessary to give warning to all ranks that no one who kills a superior officer or noncommissioned officer, either in the heat of battle or in the calm of barracks, drunk or sober, will be permitted to escape the severest of penalties.'

Martinez also said he believed that the reason that his uncle was shot — the first execution at Shepton by shooting — was because the court knew that it was 'railroading' him and they offered him a less shameful way to die.

One father who did find out the truth was George Ingham who had been informed that his son had been killed on December 1, 1916. 'For many years,' write the authors of *Shot at Dawn*, 'the father of the executed soldier was deceived as to the true cause of his son's death . . . At a later date the [Imperial War Graves] Commission re-contacted the father and asked him whether he required an inscription to be carved on the headstone of the grave [at Bailleulmont], but in the intervening period George Ingham had learned the truth. Enraged over the execution and deception he requested a unique inscription and, the content being true, the Commission did not decline.'

The demolition of the Führerbunker in Berlin continues to bring correspondence including a detailed five-page appraisal from Dr Richard Raiber of Hockessin, Delaware. Dr Raiber was responsible for our special issue No. 19, published ten years ago, on all the Führerhauptquartiere and must be considered the leading expert — especially in view of the fact that he has recently completed a 175,000-word manuscript on the subject.

'I have just seen *After the Battle* No. 61 and congratulate you for reporting the enormously interesting excavation of the Vorbunker segment of Hitler's Berlin Führerbunker. For those of us who have long been serious students of the events which occurred there in late April/early May 1945, Tom Posch's April 1988 findings are tremendously fascinating. I last walked over that very spot in summer 1969; that the Vorbunker, virtually intact, lay buried a few metres beneath my feet and would one day be uncovered was inconceivable. Who, today, more than 40 years after its presumed demolition, would imagine that it still existed in sufficient condition to be disinterred, let alone be explored? Very, very interesting.'

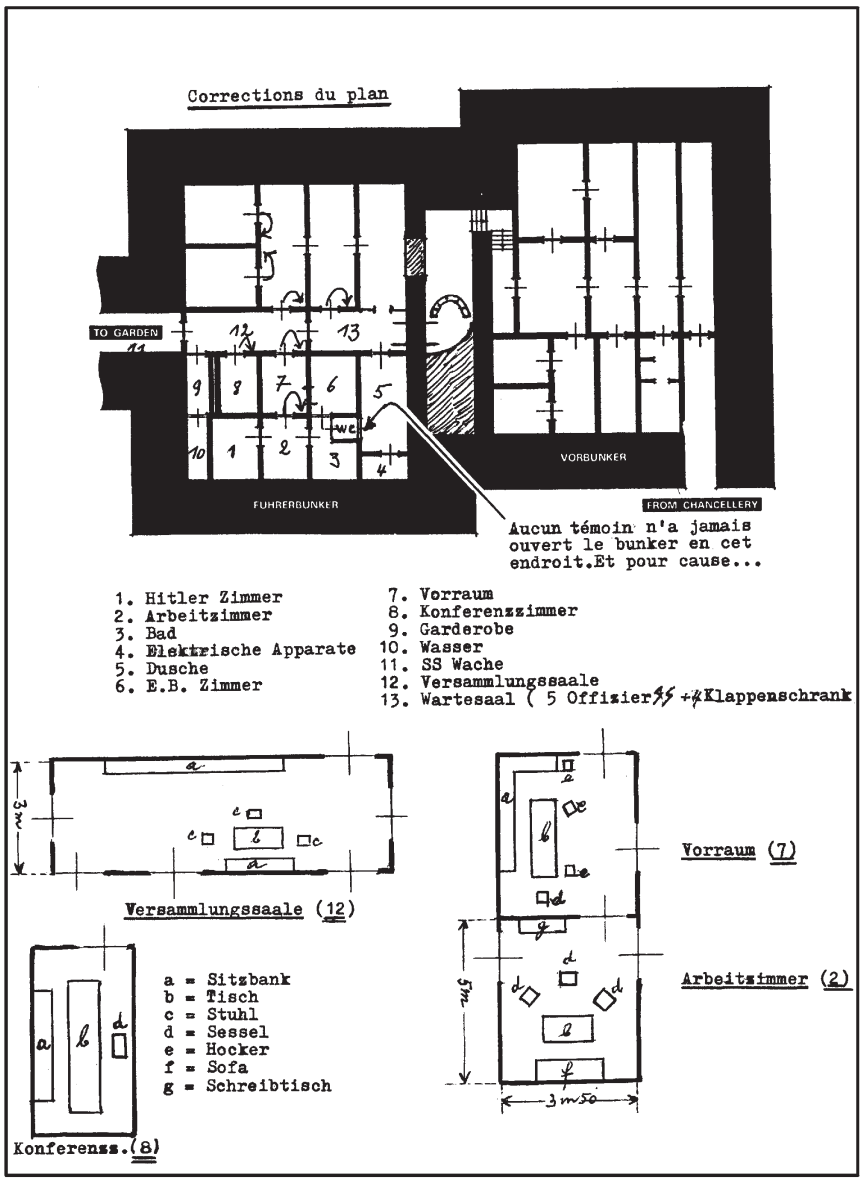
The pressure under which our issue on the Reichs Chancellery had been produced, as well as the many last minute complications we faced in dealing with the East German authorities, meant that there had been no time left for us to submit proofs to Dr Raiber for double-checking. Had we done so we would have found him unhappy with my associating him with the 'thirteen' Führerhauptquartiere as the total number of FHQu or Anlage he has now identified is 26.

'I cannot imagine why you chose to alter my original findings,' continued Dr Raiber, 'other than that you have arbitrarily manipulated the total to coincide with the "thirteen" Führerhauptquartiere "identified" by James P. O'Donnel (*The Bunker*, Houghton-Mifflin Company, New York, 1978, p. 42). If that indeed be the case, you are both wrong — despite what O'Donnel alleges he had been told by Albert Speer. You and your collaborators should know that Speer (and other German eyewitnesses) frequently "dealt loosely with the truth" when they were interviewed by non-Germans. In any event, this figure attributed to Speer is

LIST OF FÜHRERHAUPTQUARTIERE AND ANLAGEN PLANNED AS FÜHRERHAUPTQUARTIERE

FHQu or Anlage	*Construction Period*	*Location*	*Dates used as FHQu*
Führersonderzug		Eastern Germany; Poland	4 to 26 Sept '39 (Kasino Hotel, Zoppot, Poland: 19 to 25 Sept '39)
Reichskanzlei/Berghof		Berlin/south-eastern Bavaria	26 Sept '39 to 9 May '40; 6 July '40 to 13 April '41; 27 April to 23 June '41; 7 Nov to 22 Nov '42; 19 March to 9 May '43; 21 May to 1 July '43; 18 July to 20 July '43; (19 July Oberitalien); 27 Feb to 14 July '44; 21 Nov to 11 Dec '44; 16 Jan to 30 April '45; and for other periods of short duration 3 Sept '39 to 14 July '44
'Adlerhorst'	1939-40	Ziegenberg, western Germany	(not used as FHQu)
'?'	1939-40	Near Landstuhl in Pfalz, Germany	(not used as FHQu)
'Felsennest' a.k.a. 'W O'	1939-40	South-west of Cologne, Germany	10 May to 6 June '40
'Tannenberg'	1939	Black Forest, southern Germany	27 June to 6 July '40
'Wolfschulucht' a.k.a 'W 1'	1940	Southern Belgium	6 June to 27 June '40
'?'	June 1940	Forêt de la Montagne de Reims, France	(not used as FHQu)
'Frühlingssturm' (Führersonderzug 'Amerika')		Mönichkirchen, Austria	14 to 26 April '41
'Wolfschanze'	1940-41	Masuria, East Prussia	24 June '41 to 16 July '42; 1 Nov to 7 Nov '42; 23 Nov '42 to 17 Feb '43; 13 March to 19 March '43; 9 May to 21 May '43; 1 July '43 to 18 July '43; 20 July to 27 Feb '44; 14 July to 20 Nov '44
'Mitte'	1940-41	Central Poland	(not used as FHQu)
'Süd'	1940-41	Near Krosno, south-east Poland	27-28 Aug '41
'Wehrwolf'	1942	Near Vinnitsa, Ukraine	16 July to 31 Oct '42; (17 Feb to 19 Feb '43: Saparoshe, Ukraine); 19 Feb to 13 March '43
'W 2'	1942-43	Near Margival, central France	26 to 27 June '44
'Bärenhöhle'	1942	Near Smolensk, White Russia	(not used as FHQu)
'W 3', a.k.a. 'Brunhilde'	1942-43	Lorraine, France	(not used as FHQu)
'Riese', a.k.a. 'Eule', 'I.G.-Schlesien'	1944-45	Lower Silesia, eastern Germany	(not used as FHQu)
'Amt 500'	1939-40	Near Ziegenberg, western Germany	11 Dec '44 to 15 Jan '45
'Olga' (?)	1938/1945	Thuringia, Germany	(not used as FHQu)
'Hagen', a.k.a. 'Siegfried'	1944 (?)	Pullach, near Munich, Germany	(not used as FHQu)
'Lothar'	(?)	(?)	(not used as FHQu)
'Robert'	(?)	(?)	FHQu Anlage?
'Bruno'	(?)	(?)	FHQu Anlage?
'Zigeuner I'	(?)	(?)	(not used as FHQu)
'Ausweichstelle Nord'	(?)	(?)	(not used as FHQu)
Deggendorf-Gotteszell tunnels	1945	Bayerischer Wald	(not used as FHQu)

Sketches included with Professor Préfet P. E. Jacquart's appraisal of the layout of the Führerbunker — right down to the placing of the furniture in the key rooms.



incorrect, as the documentary evidence reflected in my enclosed list clearly shows.'

We are very pleased to be able to include here the fruits of Dr Raiber's research and in turn he hopes that it will elicit letters from people who can fill in the gaps.

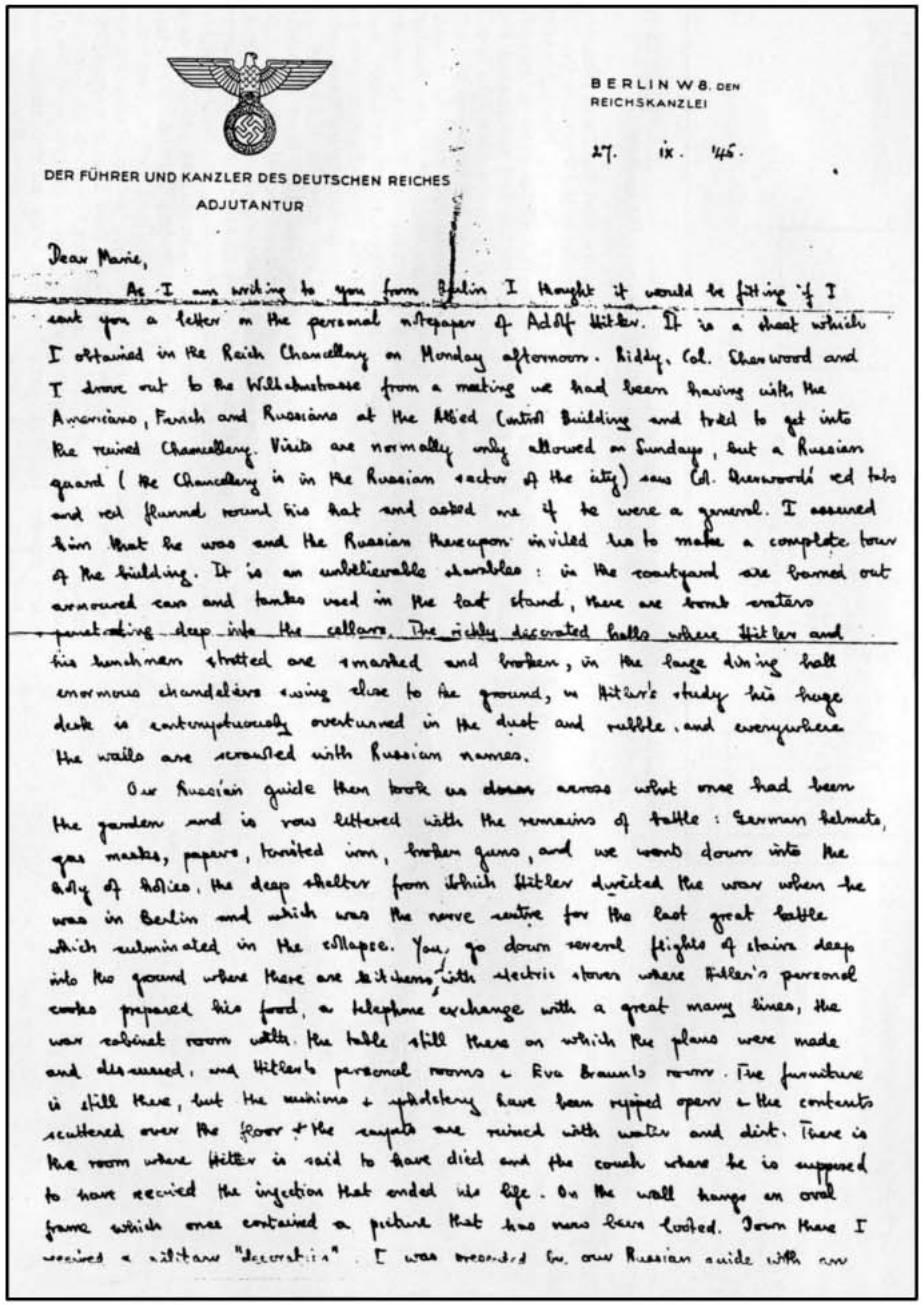
Readers will recall that Tom Posch found no sign of the circular staircase described in many accounts as joining the Vorbunker with the Führerbunker — a point we discussed further in issue 62, pages 48 and 49. I don't think there is any doubt that it existed, but the combined restrictions caused by post-war demolitions and the water level inside the bunker prevented Tom from going down far enough to reach it or its remains. In this, my captioning of his picture on page 52 of issue 61 was misleading. Professor Préfet P. E. Jacquart of Izier in Belgium has kindly sent me his version of how he thinks our plan should be amended to explain its absence, which I have included here with his written amendments.

The Professor also believes that the series of pictures on page 40-41 of issue 61 were taken in what the Germans termed the Vorraum (ante-room) — No. 7 on his plan. (The descriptions of the uses of some of the rooms in the bunker vary depending on the source used, and we leaned heavily on Dr Peter Hoffmann's version in his *Die Sicherheit des Diktators* which calls this room 'Hitler's Arbeitsraum' which we translated as 'office'.) Like everyone else who has published these photographs, we accepted as gospel — too readily perhaps — the original captioning which stated that this was the sofa on which the suicides took place. One had no real reason to doubt the 1945 captioning but, on reflection, few people, least of all a British or American photographer, would have known which room was which. Possibly William Vandivert, *Life's* renowned wartime photographer, got nearest to the truth when he visited Berlin with the magazine's correspondent, Percy Knauth. Although some of the captioning of their pictures reproduced in the July 23, 1945 edition of *Life* was equally inaccurate, this photograph may quite possibly show the correct sofa as bloodstains were found on its wooden arm. Knauth had interviewed Erich Kempka before his visit so supposedly knew where to look although Kempka had told him that Eva had shot herself through the heart — an odd statement from someone who had helped to carry her dead body into the garden.

The suicide sofa? (William Vandivert Life Magazine © Time Inc.)

Professor Jacquart: 'My conclusions are that the three pictures (pages 40 and 41 of issue 61) were taken in the Vorraum (No. 7) from the entrance of Eva Braun's room (No. 6). The table had been pushed against the wall on the left. Hitler used to take his meals there. Hitler and Eva Braun committed suicide on the small sofa in the Arbeitzimmer (No. 2). There is no doubt about this. Hitler had ordered Linge to burn all his personal belongings: uniform, documents, medications etc, and the blood-stained carpet was also destroyed by him. When the Soviets and Americans entered this room, nothing significant remained and this is why it was not appreciated that Hitler had committed suicide there. Regarding the Führerbunker plan, to know the truth, we must refer to the accounts of those who lived in the bunker. *Die letzten Tage der Reichskanzlei* by Gerhard Boldt, first staff officer of Guderian, then of Krebs when Guderian was dismissed. For three months, from 1.2.45 to 19.4.45 he took part in the daily conferences with Hitler, Jodl, Keitel, Dönitz etc. He worked in the bunker for three months and consequently knew it well. He describes the Führerbunker and affirms that to pass from it to the Vorbunker, there was a 12-stair spiral stairway. *Er war mein Chef* by Christa Schroeder: Hitler's secretary until 20.4.45 when she was sent to Berchtesgaden. She describes the Arbeitzimmer: "ein Schreibtisch, ein schmales Sofa (on which Hitler and Eva Braun committed suicide), ein Tisch, drei Sessel, ein Bildnis Friedrich der Grossen das ober dem Schreibtisch hing". *Au coeur du IIIème Reich* by Albert Speer. He describes his last visit to the bunker on 23.4.45, his talk with Eva Braun in her room (No. 6) from midnight to 3.00 a.m. while Hitler was asleep and could not be disturbed. His description clearly proves that there was a door between rooms 6 and 7.'

Before we leave the Bunker I could not resist including this fascinating letter sent to me from Hugh Walker in West Lothian (via Harry Logan in California!) which his father had written to his mother in September 1945.



DER FÜHRER UND KANZLER DES DEUTSCHEN REICHES
ADJUTANTUR

BERLIN W 8. DEN
REICHSKANZLEI

27. IX. 45.

Dear Marie,

As I am writing to you from Berlin I thought it would be fitting if I sent you a letter on the personal notepaper of Adolf Hitler. It is a sheet which I obtained in the Reich Chancellery on Monday afternoon. Biddy, Col. Sherwood and I drove out to the Wilhelmstrasse from a meeting we had been having with the Americans, French and Russians at the Allied Control Building and tried to get into the ruined Chancellery. Visits are normally only allowed on Sundays, but a Russian guard (the Chancellery is in the Russian sector of the city) saw Col. Sherwood's red tabs and red flannel round his hat and asked me if he were a general. I assured him that he was and the Russian thereupon invited us to make a complete tour of the building. It is an unbelievable shambles: in the courtyard are burned out armoured cars and tanks used in the last stand, there are bomb craters penetrating deep into the cellars. The richly decorated halls where Hitler and his henchmen strutted are smashed and broken, the large dining hall enormous chandeliers swing close to the ground, in Hitler's study his huge desk is contemptuously overturned in the dust and rubble, and everywhere the walls are scrawled with Russian names.

Our Russian guide then took us down across what once had been the garden and is now littered with the remains of battle: German helmets, gas masks, papers, twisted iron, broken guns, and we went down into the bowels of hell, the deep shelter from which Hitler directed the war when he was in Berlin and which was the nerve centre for the last great battle which culminated in the collapse. You go down several flights of stairs deep into the ground where there are kitchens with electric stoves where Hitler's personal cooks prepared his food, a telephone exchange with a great many lines, the war cabinet room with the table still there on which the plans were made and discussed, and Hitler's personal rooms & Eva Braun's room. The furniture is still there, but the cushions & upholstery have been ripped open & the contents scattered over the floor & the carpets are ruined with water and dirt. There is the room where Hitler is said to have died and the couch where he is supposed to have received the injection that ended his life. On the wall hangs an oval frame which once contained a picture that has now been looted. From there I received a military "decoration". I was escorted by our Russian guide with our Iron Cross Second Class without swords.

Whether Hitler is alive or dead, it is impossible to say. The probability is that he is dead, but it is odd that his body was never found in the Chancellery. You will remember reading that somebody had said that he saw Hitler and Eva Braun's bodies burning in a trench near the entrance to the underground shelter. I have seen that trench: it is half filled with all manner of the pinks of battle: strips of clothing, papers, etc. but there is no sign of burning. Escape at the last moment was possible. As you leave the back of the Chancellery building you are within 50 yards of the Brandenburg Gate and the very wide road called the Charlottenburger Chaussee which towards the end was used as a landing strip. This is quite obvious: a German fighter clearly missed the road, turned over and is now standing absolutely vertical with its nose in the ground and a little further on a big German bomber has pitched itself up on the ground not much more than a hundred yards from the Brandenburger Gate. So it was just possible for Hitler to have escaped, but I think unlikely.

The immediate surroundings have to be seen to be believed. Everywhere there is destruction on a scale I have never before seen even in Germany. The ground is churned up with bomb and shells, buildings are bombed & then shelled obviously at point blank range and reduced to dust, anti-aircraft guns still point skywards and surrounded by heaps of rusting shell cases, there are armoured vehicles and tanks blown to pieces or overturned on the ground and still by the roadside are the mounds of those who lie buried where they fell.

That belongs to a Berlin that already belongs to the past. Today it is the setting of a great tragedy, a heart-breaking sight of thousands of homeless, old people and puny children, refugees from the East in desperate plight, who have nowhere to return to and no home to go to, who are not allowed to stay in Berlin, who have no ration cards & therefore no claim to food in a city that is already desperately short. Nothing has upset me so much as this, but I will tell you more in another letter. I'm leaving Berlin tomorrow without regret and returning to the British Zone by air.

I hope all goes well at home. Looking forward to hearing from you.

Love,

Herbert.

Chris Coxon's battlefield recreations. Compare *left* with issue 19, page 13, and *right* with issue 42, page 1.

It is always a great pleasure to receive up-to-date photographs of locations featured in former issues. Chris Coxon and friends of the Battle Re-enactment Associate (see issue No. 24) send me some marvellous re-creations during their trips around the battlefields: 'In February a group of eleven fellow BRA members went to the Ardennes/ Westwall area, with mixed results. At FHQu Wolfschulucht (issue 19, page 13, top right picture) we re-created Hitler talking to Martin Bormann and Rudolf Hess with quite pleasing results. I think we should have been just a bit closer to the church though. At Roetgen we recreated the Shermans and infantry crossing into Germany through the Westwall (minus Shermans!) with a bit of judicious scrambling up near-vertical mud banks we were able to get the view almost exactly the same as the original US war correspondent.

'I couldn't resist sending you a couple of the King Tiger at la Gleize, even though you must be inundated with photos of this particular tank every year. Noticeable is the fact that instead of being allowed to deteriorate it appears to be well maintained and even re-painted in places (mud flaps at rear re-painted). Internally, it is in a very sorry state. My friend took some photos of the interior which reveal a site of almost complete devastation. What the rust has started, the souvenir hunters have finished and it's now basically just a shell.

'The museum we found in '85 in Rochefort is now gone, it appears to have been a special event for the 40th anniversary only, composed of equipment lent by private collectors in the area. (There was a hell of a lot of stuff!) The Bastogne Historical Centre wasn't open. (Again!) Does it ever open? Whereas the small town museum still puts on a good show of relics, and you can even buy some. I got a K98k with a barrel that had been run over by a tank for £8.50, a steel helmet with a bullet hole through it for £7, and a bullet-riddled Sturmgewehr assault rifle with magazine (also with bullet holes) for £20. There is a militaria shop south of Bastogne at Recogne, which is almost like a museum; they had many nice bits and pieces including a beautiful Pak 36 3.7cm A/T gun.

'At Aachen we actually managed to get ourselves invited into the main command bunker which is still used as an office building by three or four companies. The rooms inside are tiny due to the immense thickness of the walls!

We pressed on to Eben Emael and proceeded to have a good old nose around. Fierce guard dogs in the tunnels stopped us from attempting to enter the underground sections, and most of our activities were confined to external observations. As we walked across a ploughed field to get across the moat, I found a penknife in the mud, very old and rusty. On cleaning and examining it I could make out on the side the words "Souvenir of Lourdes". Thinking it might be a sign, I pocketed it. Within one minute of this I had twisted my ankle and my camera had mysteriously stopped working and was defying all attempts to make it go again. Not wishing to push my luck further I lobbed the penknife as far away as I could. Immediately my camera started working again, and my ankle suddenly felt much better. What do you make of that? It made me think a bit I can tell you!'

Probably the most well-known piece of armour preserved in Europe — nice to know the exterior is still well maintained.

Recent additions to the Coxon collection include two MP44s; K98 metalwork, grenade launcher, magazines, etc, from the Ardennes and battlefield debris from Falaise.

After all that snow, it's nice to have a touch of warmth. This is Tarawa, the tropical island visited in issue 15, where, it seems, little changes. The 8-inch Vickers gun *below* at Temakin Point appeared on page 17 twelve years ago.

Mr W. Lebedew wrote from Adelaide, Australia, sending photographs recently taken on Tarawa: 'The 5,000 Japanese defenders of the elite Sasebo 7th Special Naval Landing Force were wiped out to a man and their bones still lie beneath the sand of the key island of Betio. It is said that the ghosts of Betio outnumber the living.'

Also from 'Down Under' came a letter from Jeffrey Plowman in Christchurch, New Zealand:

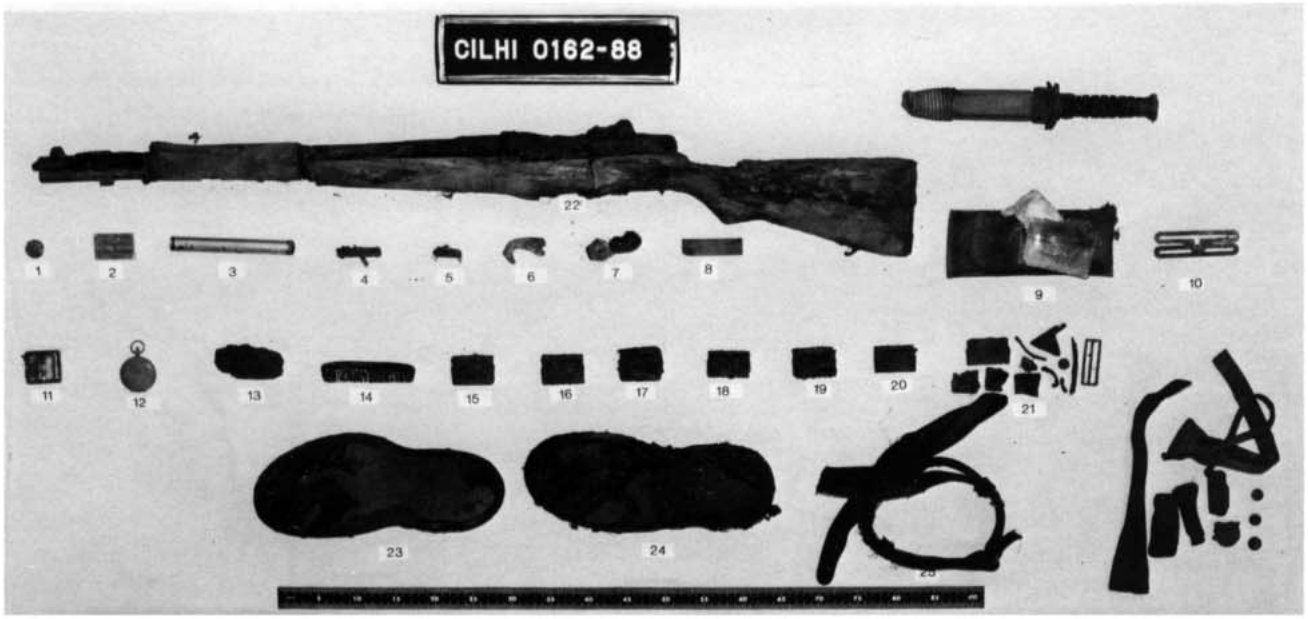
'I found your article on the making of the film *The Battle of the River Plate* (issue 40) very interesting, especially to learn that the *Achilles* had appeared in the film playing herself. I don't know if anyone has written to you about the fate of the *Achilles*/*Delhi* so I am enclosing a couple of photographs of the gun turret and predictor tower which are now on display at the Museum of Transport and Technology in Auckland. In 1979 the *Delhi* came up for disposal in the Indian Navy and, because of interest shown in New Zealand, she was offered to our Government for its scrap value. Unfortunately we were unable to come up with this although attempts were made to raise capital by the *Achilles* ex-members' association. Even this proved unsuccessful and so these relics were given to New Zealand and are all that is left of this ship.'

Gun turret and director control tower from HMNZS *Achilles* presented to New Zealand by the Indian government when the ship of River Plate fame was scrapped. The display was officially unveiled on May 10, 1980.

While in the Pacific theatre, following publication of our issue on the Aleutians in November 1988, we were interested to be sent news by David Hale in Washington that the remains of a World War II soldier found on Buldir Island had been identified. Corporal Carl Houston disappeared after setting out from a five-man outpost on March 3, 1945. When he failed to return search parties were sent out but no trace of the corporal was ever found. After the war ex-Sergeant Joseph Nichols visited Houston's mother and father to explain at first hand Carl's mysterious disappearance and how the search had been unsuccessful. They both died never knowing what had happened to their son. In July 1988 biologists found a skeleton still wearing old Army-issue boots wedged between moss-covered boulders. An M1 rifle with spent cases was alongside together with a pocket watch, comb, knife, disintegrated uniform fabric, a belt buckle and a coin.

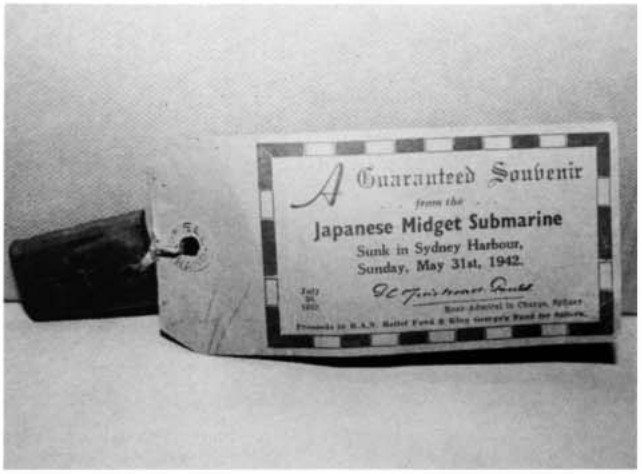
The remains were examined by the Army Central Identification Laboratory in Hawaii and after four months it was concluded that the weathered set of bones belonged to Houston. Cause of death could not be determined. Forty-three years after his disappearance, Carl was brought back by his sister to be buried in his home state of Wisconsin.

'I renew my pledge to the families of those listed as missing in action, that this nation will work unceasingly until a full accounting is made. It's our sacred duty and we will never forget them.' Thus US President Ronald Reagan assured the families of America's dead that no stone would be left unturned in the effort to trace their missing loved ones. The official organisation responsible for carrying out the task of searching for, recovering and identifying Service personnel killed or listed as missing from the US Armed Forces is the US Army Central Identification Laboratory, Hawaii, (CILHI). Operating primarily in the Pacific Theater, the Laboratory brings the latest anthropological, odontological and other scientific techniques to bear, and is a direct descendant of the Graves Registration Service established in World War I. Computerised records in the Casualty Data Analysis Section cover approximately 2,400 who have not been recovered from South-East Asia (as well as the 58,000 who died and were recovered in the Vietnam War), 8,000 from the Korean War and 58,000 from World War II. When remains are discovered, while these are examined by the scientific staff, the data analysts compile a list of names of possible candidates. Using all the available information, CILHI determines which unaccounted-for Serviceman's loss scenario best matches the evidence. If a favourable comparison is not possible, the search is expanded until a match can be made. The medical, dental and biographical information compiled on each individual by the analysts is then compared with the biological data of the remains. Throughout the process, CILHI can call on various specialist agencies such as the Tripler Army Medical Center, the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Smithsonian Institution and the Naval Investigative Service. Once CILHI's recommendation for a particular identification is made, it is forwarded to the Armed Services Graves Registration Office which presents the case to a forensic review board. If the consultants concur with the identification, it is then sent to the appropriate Service which, in turn, contacts the next of kin. The whole case is then reviewed by the Service with the family which is free to choose to bring in an independent expert. If that expert differs with CILHI's findings, the file is returned to the Army's forensic consultants for further evaluation. The final approval is given by the Armed Forces Identification Review Board at which point the remains can be returned to the family.



The evidence found in case 0162-88 which resulted in the positive identification of the remains of Corporal Carl Houston, missing in the Aleutian Islands since 1945. 1 Silver coloured coin. 2 Serial numbered plate for a power control box. 3 Six-inch metal cylinder oiler for a M-1 rifle. 4 Toggle switch. 5 Unidentified metal part. 6 Unidentified metal part, engraved '4 K'. 7 Man's wristwatch with black leather band. 8 Whetstone. 9 Wallet with legible contents. 10 Buckle, two pieces, pistol belt. 11 Small one-piece metal belt buckle. 12 Round US military issue compass. 13 Metal butt plate, M-1 rifle. 14 Plastic comb, Victory brand. 15 to 20 Ammunition magazines for M-1 rifle, 3 broken, 3 intact. 21 Unidentified miscellaneous pieces of metal. 22 M-1 rifle and stock, (2 pieces). 23 & 24 Right and left sole of Red Ball brand shoe pacs (boots). 25 Leather sling. Not numbered, miscellaneous pieces of leather and a bayonet with scabbard.

A rather incredible find in a British scrapyard — the remains of a Japanese Kaiten submarine. Mike Croft is 5 ft 9 in tall which gives a good idea of the relative size of this one-man, one-shot weapon. Now it has gone to the Royal Navy Submarine Museum at Gosport.



Nigel Parker wrote from Wallingford, Oxfordshire, in July 1989: 'After reading your article on the Japanese submarine attack on Sydney Harbour [issue 53], I thought you would be interested in the enclosed given to me by a lady who was evacuated to Australia from Singapore.'

Nearer to home, Mr M. J. Croft of Reading, Berkshire, wrote following several visits to Pounds Shipbreakers which we featured in issue 37:

'We, that is my friends, Dez Cousins, Nigel Parker and I, had made our third visit to the scrapyard, taking photos from every possible angle. While there, a large hulk, very rusty, torpedo-shaped in appearance, stuck in my mind. My first thoughts were that it was a boiler, or some kind of missile, but the steel was so thick that it couldn't be. Anyway, a few weeks later, while visiting my local library, I came across a book *Coffin Boats* by Peggy Warner and Sadao Seno. Flicking through it I noticed a photo . . . things clicked and I had to go back to Pounds for another look. Sure enough, the hulk was a Japanese Kaiten — a one-man suicide submarine.

'We 'phoned two museums but they showed little interest, possibly due to lack of funds. It certainly seems a shame if this is a one and only and it disappears.'

We receive many letters from readers enclosing photographs of relics they have found or dug up on battlefields — mainly in Belgium, Luxembourg or Holland. Although everyone is interested in collecting souvenirs — and I am probably the worst culprit — I draw the line at explosives because the risks are too great. As I have mentioned many times before, a piece of rusty metal is not worth losing a hand or an eye, and I have met people who have suffered because of their hobby. While one expects to find such material on the actual battlefields, I was surprised to see what Rory Bowskill had turned up within an hour or so's walk from his home in central England. All former ranges and training grounds were supposed to be certified cleared before being abandoned, yet here was one very much alive:

'During my geological researches I have recovered over 10kg of assorted Allied small-arms ammunition, parts of grenades, bazooka rockets and several mortar bombs,' wrote Rory in November 1987. 'In a wood I have located a trench which is over 100 yards long and had a parapet so full of ammunition that it was impossible to use a detector. The find of a lifetime has been a very battered, well-blown-to-smithereens Cruiser Mk 5. I have recovered some very collectable pieces — the speedometer, part of the breech from the main gun — but I have yet to bring down the larger pieces including turret armour with a hole shot through it. A wheel and turret ring are a bit much to fit into a rucksack!

'The major part of the tank is lying in a crater often full of water and inaccessible for much of the year — which has probably ensured its preservation as one of the best in-situ relics in the country. I also know of two motor-bikes in similar conditions.'

Rory Bowskill's pictures give some credence to the persistent rumours of equipment hidden away and forgotten in the woods of Nottinghamshire: Cruiser tank remains and cartridges.

The end of the Lindemann batteries — buried under four million tons of spoil from the Channel tunnel. Compare this shot with the cover of issue 29 to see the end of one of the Second World War's most authentic and original battlefields. Blast the bloody tunnel! Excuse my French, but I hear that Cezembre (issue 33) has also recently been tidied up by the French Army, with all access to the guns now prevented.

Not all relics can be saved even if money is available. The cover of issue 29 featured Batterie Lindemann lying amid the bomb-scarred landscape near Sangatte, between Calais and Boulogne. Although the huge 406mm guns have long gone, the massive bunkers of the largest of the cross-Channel batteries were a dramatic sight. Now they are to be submerged for all time beneath the slurry of chalk removed from the French end of the Channel tunnel. Unlike the British side where the spoil is being used to reclaim land from the sea, in order to protect fishing areas off the French coast, 4.5 million cubic metres pumped from the workings as a plastic mix are to be used to fill the Fond Pignon valley which has been dammed to convert it into a giant slurry reservoir.

One of the most satisfying aspects of editing *After the Battle* is to present stories which have either never been told before or which, in the past, have not been given the attention they deserve. I always try to strike a balance between the well-known battles and lesser-known incidents, and the feature in issue 49 on the award of the last Victoria Cross in Europe falls into that category. Charlton's exploit had been written up here and there as a paragraph or two but to develop a story into several pages of detail requires research from the ground up. Because we always visit the places we are writing about, we get much local background information to set against the known facts — few in this case as the original file documenting the award had been destroyed.

By tracing several of the participants in the battle on both sides, and taking them back to point out exactly where the exploit took place, one can be sure of getting the event permanently recorded, on film and paper, before the veterans fade away and are no longer with us.

In the case of Eddie Charlton, following publication of our issue in August 1985, the Irish Guards planned a mini battlefield tour for the present members of the regiment and this took place in November of that year. The action was split, Army-fashion, into four 'stands' at which points various speakers gave a commentary. It is a well-tried and proven system brought even more alive when the commentators are describing their own movements.

The opposing company commanders, Brigadier (Retd) Michael O'Cock and Dr H. Jürgen von Bülow, were able to meet for the first time, and Captain Barry Quinan, unable to be present during our own visit, was on hand to describe his part in the action.

In thanking our own John Hillyer for his help in organising the battlefield tour to Wistedt, Lieutenant G. M. Moriarty, writing from Oxford Barracks in Germany on behalf of the young Irish Guardsmen, said how much the visit had been enhanced by the 'tremendously friendly reception we received from the villagers themselves who might have had every reason to resent our presence as the cause of a great deal of suffering all those years ago'.

We first met John back in 1976 during our research on the Himmler suicide (issue 14). In 1945 he was serving in the Intelligence Corps and, upon marrying a German girl, stayed on after the war. He lived not far from where the events of May 1945 occurred, and so was in an ideal position to help. He was also able to put us in contact with ex-Sergeant Arthur Britton who had arrested Himmler. In August 1976 Arthur wrote to us as follows:

'I was on temporary duty in the guardroom where there was a bunch of ten men to be checked. The first one I called to the desk was indeed Himmler. He stood to attention, clicked his heels and nodded his head. In German, I asked him where he had come from and he replied: "Flensburg". He said he

Battlefield tour to Wistedt by the Irish Guardsmen of the present day. *Above:* **Captain Barry Quinan (retired) describes the action at Stand I — the scene of Charlton's VC.** *Below:* **The two opposing company commanders of 1945 meet for the first time: Brigadier Michael O'Cock (retired), left, and Dr H. Jürgen von Bülow.**

Ex-Captain Sidney Excell (his signature can be seen at the bottom of the XXX Corps memo *below*) with 'the case', retained all these years after Himmler left it at the Behrens farm before his capture in May 1945.

was proceeding to Munich. He seemed a meek kind of man. It was quite impossible to recognise him as who he was at the time. The two other men with him seemed of a prouder type and were much younger and were officers. I gave them back to the guards and only saw them next morning when I took them in a 15-cwt truck, guarded by two infantrymen, to the Westertimke cage.

'I remember that Himmler had a brand-new wallet, which was odd for a sergeant of a Panzer unit. What was also odd, but I did not realise it at the time, was that one of the officers told the guard that the sergeant was thirsty; consequently Ken Baisbrown had him served with tea. Remarkable that an officer should do this for a sergeant, in the German Army of all armies!

'On the way to Westertimke I stopped at Zeven, where 45 Field Service Security headquarters were. I popped into the office and told Captain Excell that I had three suspected SD men in the back of the truck with two guards. He told me to carry on to Westertimke, not bothering to interrogate them or come out to the truck to see them. The sergeant-major even asked me if it was necessary to have two guards instead of one. I was in front with the truck driver. At Westertimke cage I handed them in.

'Later I visited some farms with another NCO, I can't remember who, and we found a valise in a loft (it must have been Frau Behren's farm). They had slept there. In the valise we found pyjamas, slippers and other odds and ends including a manicure set with the inscription in gold letters R-F SS (Reichsführer SS). Captain Excell took this item, and I had the slippers (now lost over the years). This is about all I can add.'

Readers will therefore understand our astonishment when in May 1989 we received from out of the blue a telephone call from a Mr Excell who lives right on our own patch in Essex. The name did not immediately ring a bell until we checked the old file and realised just who he was. You couldn't see our young Deputy Editor for dust! Unbelievably, he still had the case described by Arthur Britton — his son had made good use of it as a school bag — and also Himmler's manicure set. Having come to a suitable financial arrangement, your Editor was soon sitting back cleaning his nails and grooming his hair with the Reichsführer's nail-file and comb. A truly amazing sequel, John!

Appendix "C" to Main H[illegible] 30 Corps.
111/21/GSI(b) dated 26 May 45.

The Arrest of Heinrich HI[illegible]R.

During the morning of 20 May 45 a group of five German officers and seven other ranks were detained at the bridge control at BR[illegible]RVORDE 9444 and referred to the NCOs of 45 FS Section and 1003 FSRD for checking. At first the Germans denied being all in the same party, and one of them, a doctor, claimed that the ORs were in his care as walking patients.

All the members of the party carried discharge papers issued since 1 May 45, and some of these papers were stamped G.F.P. Under interrogation one of the ORs admitted that they were all in the same party, and were all in fact G.F.P.

The party stated that they were policemen from MUNICH, and had received orders from the unit to report to the Polizei Präsidium there.

The party expressed concern about two other comrades, whom they had been forced to leave behind at a farm, since they were sick. The FS NCOs offered to go to collectthe missing members, and one of the German officers was taken along as a guide. They drove to the supposed resting place of the other two, but found no one.

The German expressed his apologies and said the other two must have gone.

That evening the twelve G.F.P. men were despatched to WESTERTIMKE and a general warning was issued that two further members of the party might turn up in the area.

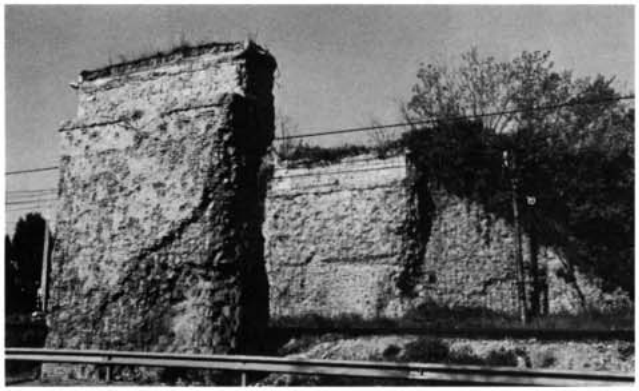
At 1700 hrs 22 May a party of three German civilians were detained at the same bridge control at BR[illegible]RVORDE. Their papers indicated that they were recently discharged from the German Army, and the tell-tale G.F.P.(SD) stamp was again present. They were put under arrest by Sjt. BRITTON of 45 FS Section.

In interrogation it became clear that they were the rearguard of the G.F.P. and stated that they were en route for MUNICH.

One of the second party was Sjt. Heinrich HILDINGER, an unimpressive figure with several days growth of beard, long hair, no glasses and a patch over one eye. He was dressed in an odd collection of civilian garments, with a blue raincoat on top.

They were despatched to WESTERTIMKE and thence to 031, and Heinrich HILDINGER's arrest report was duly submitted.

Capt



The most famous landmark at Anzio was the Campo di Carne 'flyover' bridge until it was demolished in the mid-1970s.

A long letter from Hucknall, Nottinghamshire, came in May 1988 from Fred Vann, veteran of Anzio:

'In 1972, when we revisited Anzio for the first time, I stopped the car just short of the flyover. It was just as we had left it — jagged, torn, its supports rent by enemy shellfire. Walking up the lateral road I noted the landscape, still rough and dirty like a worn-out carpet way up to Buon Riposa Ridge. In the pouring rain I took a photo of the fateful bridge, reflecting upon the sodden hours we had spent near here in the "Boot" and "Lobster Claw". In your issue No. 58, page 40, Mr Brazier of 46 Royal Tanks (how well I remember those men and their Shermans) wrote to you stating no enemy reached the overpass; this was correct. But I disagree about when the picture (issue 52, page 25) was shot. It was taken very early in the battle, for when the battered remnants of 3rd Infantry Brigade on 4th February were pulled out of the line, we passed beneath the bridge in the early hours. I well remember seeing through the great holes in the overpass the mingling of stars and daybreak. In addition man-sized chunks of concrete were suspended like stalactites, held only by their wire reinforcing and in general the structure was much reduced. Additionally, the area beyond the flyover by the end of fighting was littered with knocked-out vehicles.

'The picture of Campoleone (page 16, top) brought a lump in my throat for it was here, whilst attacking the place on January 31, that the battalion walked into an awesome shower of "Kesselring Kisses" — the spinning black cigar-shaped airbursts which that day — perhaps the darkest in its entire history — took such a heavy toll of the 2nd Foresters.

'That night, with all the officers casualties, Sergeant George Dowen, the only surviving NCO, wrote down the names of the 12 survivors of A Coy on the back of a cigarette packet and set off to find Battalion HQ. I can see the curving (newly laid) rail track where after the enemy had broken through the Irish Guards a mile to our rear we were taken prisoner. I've never forgotten the courage of the young Jerry officer, crouching like a cornered cougar, who with his section were soon to be killed in a stand-up shoot-out with our CO, Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Hackett and his 2 i/c Major S. Carter — enabling us to escape. I also remember Sergeant Millington struggling to fire a 3-inch mortar with a broken baseplate — later that day he was killed.

'The Germans came at us hard on the days of February 1st and 2nd and the Via Anziate was no place for the faint-hearted. I could quote many instances of great bravery but it is all very traumatic and you will have to forgive me if I say I shed a few tears . . . If some day you could find it in your heart to print my picture of the 2nd Foresters' memorial my pleasure would be complete.'

Sidney Butterfield was with the US 488th Port Battalion at Anzio and wrote to us from Bethesda, Maryland, in November 1988:

'For your information the 488th Port Battalion was a specialised unit formed July 1942 at Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania. The organisation trained at the Gap in loading and unloading ships. It was comprised of stevedores and longshoremen who in civilian life lived and worked at this or these trades. The battalion consisted of a Headquarters Company, and four companies, the 188th Port Company, 189th Co., 190th and 191st Port Company. The battalion shipped overseas in August 1943 and landed at Oran, but transhipped to Italy, landing at Naples in late September 1943. The battalion unloaded ships at the port of Naples as the *FIRST* such battalion of its kind to do so. The battalion was loaded on four Liberty ships destined for the Anzio landing on January 22, 1944. The 188th Port Company was on the USS *John Banvard*, and the other three companies were on three other ships — one was the USS *Yale*. All four ships sustained hits from land or the air. The *Banvard* had a near miss from a bomb and a direct hit from land before it was completely unloaded.

'Our organisation has never been officially recognised nor given the credit it was due for its part at Anzio — perhaps as we heard our commanding officer, a colonel, went off his mind during the initial part of the landing. But I can assure you that we endured the constant air raids every hour as the Germans tried to sink us in the harbour, as we tried to unload the four Liberty ships we arrived on.

'When General Mark Clark arrived in Rome and was officially ushered in to see the Pope — as a Private I was given the chance to go in with him and was one of the first American troops to visit the Vatican.'

Left: **The 2nd Battalion, Sherwood Foresters memorial was originally erected in woods near Anzio but was transferred to a new site on the beach-head** *(right)* **on the 25th anniversary of the landings, January 22, 1969.**

Issue 59 published in February 1988 covered the raid on Saint-Nazaire when the lend-lease destroyer HMS *Campbeltown* — formerly the USS *Buchanan* — was sacrificed in an attempt to disable the dry dock.

The bell — the very soul of any ship — was removed before the raid and it was donated after the war by the Admiralty to the people of Campbelltown in Pennsylvania as a gesture of goodwill (they spell their name with a double 'l'). For nearly four decades it was displayed in a glass and brick monument outside the local fire station, but when the Royal Navy began building a new *Campbeltown*, they wrote to the town to ask if they would return it for the new ship, a Type 22 frigate.

At first, the suggestion split the townspeople so much that a 'Bell Committee' was set up to decide the issue. Its decision was that as the bell had been given to the people, a referendum should be held to resolve the problem. This took place in November 1988 and after three recounts the vote was declared: 346 in favour of sending it back to Britain and 341 against — not exactly a ringing endorsement!

On May 22, 1989, at a ceremony in Campbelltown, the bell was officially handed over and brought back to Britain by Bell Committee representative Steven Alger, courtesy of RAF Transport Command.

A new ship with an old bell. After not a little heart searching, the residents of Campbelltown, USA, decided to return the bell from the wartime *Campbeltown* for display in the new Type 22 destroyer of the same name commissioned at Devonport on May 27, 1989.

In replying to my letter enclosing copies of No. 60 which included his story on his exploration of the Berghof cellars, Jim Osborne replied that there was an update already:

'My wife and I returned to Berchtesgaden on June 30 and naturally could not resist another visit to the underground rooms. Apparently the article in ATB had beaten us to Europe as there were flash cubes all over the floor of the two rooms . . . What I must really tell you is that we found an additional entry into the basement of the left wing of the Berghof and got under all the area pictured in Ray D'Addario's photo you used

AJ
ADRIA
ILLUSTRIERTE
Frühling an der Adria. ◇ Primavera sull'Adriatico. ◇ Proljece na Jadranu. ◇ Pomlad ob Jadranu.
TRIEST, 22.4.1944

on the back cover. There were even more rooms accessible here than under the picture window area.

'We had to enter the area from a completely different entrance which had developed around a sink hole in the ground caused by the earth caving into a doorway or window underneath. This area was much more heavily damaged by the 1952 explosion as several areas had the concrete ceiling buckled and caving in. There was quite a lot of space in this area as well as long hallways for pipes and electrical conduits (all removed). I would estimate another 10 rooms in the area are accessible (with caution).'

Finally, Brian Bridgeman of Swindon, Wiltshire, sent us a photo in November 1988 that he had taken in July outside the Villa Belmonte, Mezzegra, the 'official' spot

where Mussolini was shot (but see issue 25, page 22). A new marble cross had been set up replacing the one shown on the cover of issue No. 7. Brian also enclosed a cutting from a local guidebook stating that the room at Via Riale 4 where Mussolini and Claretta spent their last night is retained intact, just as it was; which was not what we were told way back in 1975.

And this is a picture I have long wanted to publish. Back in 1975 I was introduced to the charming Mrs Jolanda Wirth, wife of an officer in the Royal Malta Artillery who had fought with the British Army in Italy. 'Jolly' had been born in Trieste when it was Italian and had joined the Luftwaffe as a civilian air raid plotter, and she told me that she had been featured on the cover of the first issue of a German forces' magazine produced in Trieste: *Adria Illustrierte*. I searched everywhere for it but no one had even heard of the magazine, let alone seen copies of it! I put the word out but it was not until 1987 that Hugh Page Taylor wrote to me from Milan to say that he had just come across my ten-year-old plea when tidying his files. He enclosed 12 photocopies, all featuring beautiful girls of the period on the cover. However, after the lapse in time since I had met Jolly, I could not be certain if any of them were of her, and it took me some weeks to trace her as I had mislaid her address. Jolly's reply reached me in January 1988: 'Well I cannot describe how delighted I am in finding myself featured on one of the covers you enclosed . . .'. Firing off a letter to Hugh Taylor to tell him we had struck gold, I wrote to Jolly with a request for a photograph of herself in a similar pose today. She obliged with this smashing shot taken in Malta.